

Journal
OF THE
Architectural, Archæological,
AND
Historic Society

For the County and the City of Chester,
and North Wales



Vol. VII.—Part I.

Printed for the Society

By G. R. GRIFFITH, GROSVENOR STREET, CHESTER

1897



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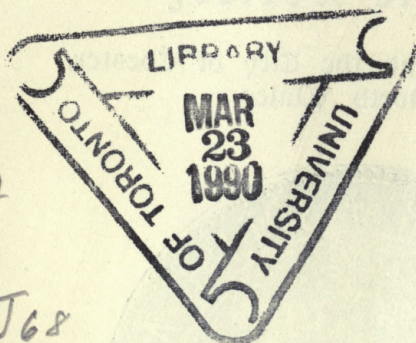
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*The Council of the Chester Archæological and Historic Society
desire it to be known that the Authors of any papers,
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*This Part has been edited by the Hon. Editorial Secretary,
Rev. Canon Morris.*



The Salmon Clause in the Indentures of Apprentices

BY T. N. BRUSHFIELD, M.D.

EVERYONE interested in folk-lore is fully aware, that assertions are frequently made of practices once current which have passed into oblivion in comparatively recent times, of whose origin and cessation nothing is known. Whether such statements are altogether true, or are wholly false; whether they contain a substratum of truth sufficient to act as the foundation to a great superstructure, are matters of great uncertainty. They may ultimately be proved to be founded on fact, or to be entirely mythical, present evidence in either case being wanting.

These remarks are especially applicable to a belief, generally received as a truism throughout England, and by no means confined to it, that at one time Salmon was so exceedingly plentiful, that it was a common practice for the indentures of apprentices and agreements with servants to contain a clause, stipulating that they should not be required to partake of that fish for dinner more than a certain number of times weekly.

Although the subject has been frequently alluded to in works and periodicals, it has not, as far as is known to the writer, formed the text of a special paper, in which the various facts, assumed or otherwise, with the

various comments, have been brought together with a view to their full and proper consideration. Although a definite result may not be arrived at on the present occasion, and perhaps may not be obtainable owing to the dearth of facts, it is hoped that it may be the means of eliciting further information on this curious subject.

The tradition is a matter of common report in towns and places situated in the proximity of rivers and estuaries that are, or were formerly, frequented by Salmon. Buckland remarks, "That there is almost invariably a cathedral town or towns upon the chief of our salmon rivers"; and by way of explanation adds, that the founders of monasteries "selected sheltered localities where, for the most part, they could get a good water-carriage, and, at the same time, a plentiful supply of fresh-water fish, especially salmon, for the use of the table on fast days."¹

Without desiring to multiply examples of the prevalence of the tradition, it is necessary to cite some relating to various places in this and in other countries.

According to Ormerod, "it has been said that this fish was so plentiful formerly at Chester, that restrictions were imposed upon the feeding apprentices improperly with it, in consequence of its cheapness."² A similar statement was made by Hanshall, with the additional remark that its use was restricted to twice weekly.³ And Mr. Ayrton (a former Secretary of this Society) related as to the practice in the same city, that he was "assured by some who . . . had it orally from their predecessors."⁴

¹ *British Fishes* (1873), 339, 341.

² *History of Cheshire*, II. (1882), 148.

³ *History of Cheshire* (1823), 86.

⁴ *Adventures of a Salmon* (1853), 30.

In 1740, R. Brookes recorded the Lancashire river Lune to be "so overstocked with salmon that the servants make . . . agreement that they will not eat it above twice a week."¹

Formerly in Berwick, "when Salmon sold at 2/- the fish stone (of nearly nineteen pounds), servants stipulated with their masters that they should not be compelled to make frequent meals of it."²

The tradition is common in the chief towns on the Severn,³ and is still prevalent in places on the principal rivers of Devonshire, *e.g.*, on the Axe,⁴ the Dart,⁵ the Taw,⁶ the Avon,⁷ and at Plympton.⁸ That the indentures contained the salmon clause was "a matter of common notoriety" in Exeter, Mr. John Gidley, the Town Clerk, stated in his evidence (answer to 14476) before the Salmon Fisheries Commission in 1860, but, he added, "I have never seen one." The Newcastle apprentices are recorded to have made the same stipulation, and Bewick, the well-known wood engraver, is believed to have been one of this number.⁹

It is by no means confined to England. In his account of Herefordshire, Fuller records plenty of Salmon in this County, "though not in such abundance as in Scotland, where servants (they say) indent with their masters not

¹ *Art of Angling*, 21.

² *Agric. of Berwick*, by R. Kerr (1813), quoted in *N. and Q.*, 2nd S., III., 406.

³ Counsel's *History of Gloucestershire*, 157; Nash's *Worcestershire*, lxxxv.; *Standard*, Feb. 27th, 1883.

⁴ Pulman, *Book of the Axe*, 42.

⁵ *West Antiquary*, I., 117.

⁶ Vancouver, *Agric. of Devon*, 76.

⁷ Fox, *Kingsbridge* (1874), 206.

⁸ Ind. of Mr. J. Brooking Rowe.

⁹ *Monthly Chronicle of North Country Lore*, II., 138; and A. Dobson's *Bewick, and his Pupils* (1889.)

to be fed therewith above thrice a week."¹ In Scotland, Dr. Rogers relates, that when engaging his farm-labourers, his grandfather, at Coupar Grange, "became bound not to give them salmon to dinner oftener than thrice a week. In the river Ericht, which bordered his farm, salmon were procured in large quantities, and were consequently deemed of little value."²

A similar practice is stated to have taken place in Ireland³; and according to a correspondent in the *Standard* (February 27th, 1883), "Many a north-western Irishman still living can . . . testify to the truth of the servants at Ballyshannon, Co. Donegal, having, less than fifty years ago, bargained" that they should not have salmon for dinner more than three times weekly.

That it extended to the Continent is thus told by Bertram :—

"Although salmon are now comparatively scarce in Holland, I was told the old story of its having been once so plentiful that apprentices used to bargain against eating it oftener than twice a week."⁴

At Dordrecht, between April 15th, 1620, and the end of 1621, a similar undertaking is said to have been entered into, owing to the great abundance of salmon there during that period.⁵

We have the authority of Elihu Burritt that it was not unknown in America. Once, he wrote, salmon

¹ *Worthies* (1662), II., 34; cf. J. Brome, *Travels over England* (1707), 176; In *N. and Q.*, 3rd S., XI., 123, a correspondent misquotes the passage from Fuller's work.

² *Leaves from my Autobiography* (1876), 4, 6; other authorities are quoted in *The Salmon*, by A. Russel (1864), 91-4; cf. *Salmon Fishery of Scotland*, by M. MacKenzie (1860), 6.

³ *Halls' Ireland*, I., 339.

⁴ *Harvest of the Sea* (1873), 42.

⁵ *Les Delices des Pays Bas* (1785); quoted in *N. and Q.*, 8th S., VI., 125.

"headed in Connecticut in such multitudes that a special stipulation was inserted in the indentures of apprentices in the vicinity of the rivers, that they should not be obliged to eat salmon more than a certain number of times in a week."¹

In the majority of instances, the salmon dinner is stated to have been restricted to two days weekly. Occasionally three days are mentioned;² sometimes four;³ and in one exceptional case is extended to five days.⁴

Although, according to one writer, the tradition "must, we suppose, be true, since everybody has always been telling it," there are various stumbling blocks to be overcome before we can attach full credence to it. We have to ascertain how far it can be corroborated by, and bear the test of, a full and searching examination. We have to consider the various statements and facts in favour of, and against it, and although their relation, and the comments upon them, may be tedious, this proceeding is absolutely necessary to enable us to form a conclusion of any kind.

The extraordinary quantity of salmon said to have been yielded by the Scotch rivers during the 17th and 18th centuries, together with the lowness of prices obtained for them, appears at first sight to favor the tradition; but though this is alluded to by various authorities,⁵ none record any direct evidence of the practice.

At Kendal, as noted by Nicholson (251), "We have not been able to find one of these indentures, but there

¹ *Walk from London to John o' Groats* (1864), 304.

² Pulman, 42.

³ *Monthly Chronicle*, II., 285.

⁴ Notes to *Old Mortality*, Wav. Nov., IX. (1830), 350.

⁵ Quoted in A. Russel's Work, '91-96.

is no doubt of the fact. Brockett mentions Newcastle and Kendal as towns where the apprentices had the saving clause in their favour." As to the latter place, it is stated in the *Westmorland Note Book*, I. (1888), 188, that "Mr. Thomas Jennings has gone through a large mass of old apprenticeship indentures at the Blue Coat School, and could find no mention whatever of fish diet in any of them; and if there were any documentary evidence at Kendal on the subject we may be sure it would have been produced before now." Respecting Newcastle: the work of Brockett affirmed to contain the assertion has not been found by the writer; it is certainly not in his *Glossary of North Country Words* (1846.) Nevertheless, the Rev. J. C. Bruce alludes to the salmon clause as being "well known" in that town, and that "the late Mr. Kell, formerly Town Clerk of Gateshead," informed him "that he had seen one to this effect."¹ On the other hand, Mr. R. Welford, the historian of Gateshead and Newcastle, had never seen a copy of an indenture containing it, nor had even heard of anyone who had. Mr. B. Ferrey² affirms the clause to have been common in Christchurch, Hants., and adds, "I am not at this moment able to get access to the documents in the corporation chest of the town, but I will endeavour shortly to obtain an extract from one of the indentures, with the exact words employed." This was written in 1865, but the "extract" has yet to be published.

The following instances of personal testimony appear to afford strong presumptive evidence in its favour:—

The *Standard* of March 2nd, 1883, contains a letter, signed "Thomas Holyoakes, Surgeon," of "Aylesford,

¹ *Handbook to Newcastle*, '68, 9.

² *N. and Q.*, 3rd S., VIII., 298.

Kent," from which the following extract is taken: "An apprentice's indenture in 1856, when I was apprenticed to my father as a surgeon, was drawn up by a firm of lawyers, and that indenture distinctly said, 'You must not allow salmon to be given more than three times a week!' I refused to sign the document, not that I disliked salmon . . . but for other reasons."

When acting as Counsel on the Herefordshire circuit (1828), Mr. C. S. Greaves records that "an appeal was tried in which the question turned upon a settlement by apprenticeship; the indenture was given in evidence, and I had it in my hands and read it, and it undoubtedly contained a stipulation that an apprentice should not be compelled to eat salmon more than three days a week . . . of the fact of there having been such a stipulation in the indenture I am perfectly certain."¹

One of the Conservators of the Wye, and a magistrate of Herefordshire, in his evidence before the Salmon Fisheries Commission, made this statement (1555):—"I must mention the fact [*sic*] that in all the indentures of apprentices of the period there was a stipulation that the apprentices should not eat fish more than so many times a week. You will find that in the Hereford Charter, and in many other places."

Mr. Greaves was informed by one "who had been educated at Shrewsbury School . . . that in the old rules of that school there was a clause" of this kind. "His memory as to his having seen this rule in a book in the school library seemed perfectly clear, and left no doubt whatever on my [Mr. Greaves] mind that such a rule existed; but," he adds, "after making the best enquiries in my power, I have failed to discover any

¹ *N. and Q.*, 4th S., I., 322 (1868.)

such rule." Another writer, who had been educated in the same school, "had never heard of it," and "was disposed to think it a myth."¹

The Rev. R. Polwhele, in his *History of Cornwall* (VII., 88), alludes to such "covenants which I have seen in this County, and in Devon"; and in Halls' *Ireland*, I., 139, is the assertion, "We have seen one of the contracts that contained the singular stipulation."

Of this salmon clause, G. Pulman (42) remarks, "It is a fashion to say that this is merely a fiction. . . . It happens that I have myself seen two indentures containing it. One was that of Mr. Emanuel Dommett, apprenticed to the late Mr. Francis Dight, fell-monger, Axminster, and the other that of the late Mr. John Bowdage, baker, of the same place. Unfortunately it is impossible to produce either of the documents, as they were both destroyed, along with other papers, soon after the death of the parties mentioned. Surviving members of both families can corroborate my statement."

A strong opinion expressed in print, as to the truth of the tradition, is not often retracted by the author. One memorable instance to the contrary may be cited here. In *N. and Q.* (1st S., VI. (1852), 217), the Rev. E. Bradley ('Cuthbert Bede') affirmed: "I may mention—*a propos* to the Severn salmon—the singular fact, that not more than fifty years ago the indentures of the Bridgenorth apprentices set forth that their masters, under pain of certain penalties, were *not* to give them Severn Salmon for dinner more than three times a week." Thirteen years later, in the same periodical (3rd S., VIII. (1865), 174-5), he thus revised this statement:—"I have lived for eight years in Worcestershire and

¹ *N. and Q.*, 4th S., I., 321, 518.

Shropshire, in the immediate vicinity of the Severn, and have made numerous enquiries into this 'Salmon and Apprentice' subject. From these inquiries I have come to the conclusion that the statement is erroneous, and the popular belief a vulgar error." He further owned that his "authority for the [earlier] statement was derived, partly from popular belief and partly from published reports in a variety of books."

According to Nash,¹ "the salmon was formerly in such plenty at Worcester as to render necessary the employment of the special clause in the indentures, and this appears to have been the authority for the assertion made by several writers, *e.g.*, the one made in *Gent's Magazine* (1788, I., 480), that there are many old indentures now in Worcester" containing this covenant. Again, in the following paragraph taken from the *Manchester Evening News* of July 13th, 1888: "Tradition asserts, and documentary evidence in support of the allegation exists," of such obligatory indentures having been in force at "Worcester, Gloucester, and other towns on the Severn"; but notwithstanding this, no documentary evidence is yet forthcoming. Now, it is certain, as Mr. Bradley noticed, that a statement of this kind "once made by the county historian, subsequent writers may have felt themselves at liberty to adopt it without question." His later opinion, just recorded, is thus corroborated by Mr. J. J. Burgess, in the *Standard* of March 3rd, 1883:—"I have a series of indentures of apprenticeship dating from James I. to William IV., a period of two hundred and fifty years. They relate to a variety of Trades in the City of Worcester; amongst others, to clothiers, glovers, cordwainers, gardeners, and home-lace weavers, but beyond the covenant for whole-

¹ *Worcestershire*, lxxxv.

some food and two suits of clothing, 'according to the custom of the City of Worcester,' there is no mention of food in any of them. . . . The most diligent inquiries I made thirty years ago, in the towns near salmon fisheries in Ireland, failed to elicit the slightest corroboration of the prevalent story."

Although the tradition is well-known on the shores of the Dart, the Town Clerk of Totnes, Mr. E. Windeatt, remarked, "I have never come across an indenture containing the clause, nor have I ever heard of anyone who has."¹

Very recently the writer was informed by an old Chester resident, that early in the present century his father served his apprenticeship in the city, and although his own indentures did not contain a fish clause, "he had heard and believed it to have been a common provision" in them "shortly before his time, and that it was aimed against the habit of feeding apprentices too freely with cured or salt salmon, and not against fresh-caught salmon."

My friend, the late Mr. Thomas Hughes, F.S.A., informed me that he had seen and examined many Chester indentures of the 17th and 18th centuries, without having found any such clause; and enquiries in the *Cheshire Sheaf*, edited by him, failed to obtain any local information relating to it. This is further borne out by the examination of about 150 indentures, mostly on printed forms, preserved among the Municipal Records, that had been "left for enrolment, in order to claim Freemanship of the City," and range from 1768 to 1829. In none of them is there any reference to fish diet, the

¹ *Western Antiquary*, I., 117.

only allusion to board, &c., being in such general terms as—"sufficient and suitable meat, drink, &c."¹

Mr. W. Ayrton could learn nothing more than the oral tradition, and yet no one during his life-time studied the literature and all that related to the salmon and to the Dee Fisheries more than he did, as shown in his work, *The Adventures of a Salmon*, published in 1853; as well as in his paper, entitled, "Records relating to the River Dee and its Fisheries," read at a meeting of the Chester Archæological Society, and published in their *Transactions* (I., 234-250.) It may be noted that the Rev. Canon Morris' *Chester during the Plantagenet, &c., Periods* (1894), does not refer to it.

The following is recorded by Mr. J. R. Chanter as the result of his examination of the *Barnstaple Municipal Records*, No. XCVII. :—

"No. 18. Apprentices indentures, 1600 to 1700. These have all been opened out for examination to ascertain if any proviso about salmon existed, but nothing of the sort occurs."

In their report on the Salmon Fisheries, the Commissioners note having heard the tradition "in every locality" visited by them. They further remark, "We endeavoured to obtain sight of one of these instruments, but without success, though we met with persons who stated they had seen them, and the universal prevalence of the tradition seems to qualify belief in it" (VI.)

Rewards have on several occasions been offered for the production of an indenture containing the clause, but hitherto without success; one, of a sovereign, was

¹ For the examination of these documents, and for many other acts of courtesy in connection with the same subject, the writer desires to acknowledge the able and willing assistance rendered him by the present Town Clerk, S. Smith, Esq.

repeatedly tendered by the editor of the *Worcester Herald*; another, of £5, by Mr. Ffennell, one of the Inspectors of Salmon Fisheries; but although this "was advertised and stood open for one or two years, no such copy ever turned up."¹

Frank Buckland said he was tired of hearing about such indentures, and "almost weary of hunting" for a copy; but that he was "once very near getting it," and this is the story he relates of his non-success:—

"Stopping to bait the horses at a little road-side inn near Exeter, the landlady told me this old, old story; and moreover, said she knew an old woman who had a copy of an indenture, only she lived 'a bit off,' and it was too far for her to walk and fetch it. I stopped the driver from taking the horses out of the carriage, and made 'mine hostess' jump in, and drive off instantly to the old woman's cottage. She was a long time gone, and I hoped that she and the old woman were looking for the indenture. At last the messenger returned. 'The old woman had burnt the papers last week!'"²

On several occasions the writer had somewhat similar hopes of success, but as "man never is, but always to be blest," failure at the last moment has been the invariable result. The actual possessor could not find it, or it had been recently destroyed, &c. The grandfather of one informant "had possessed such an indenture, which he kept as a curiosity," but what ultimately became of it is uncertain. He was once informed of a copy being preserved in a country church, but on further enquiry the vestry had been pulled down some time before, and the "papers," one of which was the indenture in question, were now missing.

A personal friend, formerly in extensive practice as a medical man in the North of England, has supplied

¹ *Standard*, March 3rd, 1883.

² *British Fishes*, 359-60.

the following information in a letter dated September 15th, 1896:—

“In the year 1852 I was apprenticed to my uncle, a surgeon in Yorkshire, and when signing the indenture, the solicitor, who had drawn up the document, remarked to my uncle, ‘this is almost a verbatim copy of your own indentures, with the exception of one clause, which I have omitted, thinking it unnecessary in the present day, *viz.*, “he is not to have salmon more than two days a week.”’ My uncle was apprenticed to a surgeon in the east-end of London, and supposing him to have been bound at the age of seventeen, the indenture would have been drawn up in the year 1825.”

Negative evidence is at the best unsatisfactory, and the production of one example of a positive character, such as a single indenture containing the clause in question, would be held sufficient proof that the tradition was founded on fact, although its universality might be doubted. Those best acquainted with the subject, and who have given a large amount of attention to all matters relating to the salmon, are of opinion that the whole story is a myth.

Is the tradition founded on fact, or is it altogether mythical? If the latter, what were the circumstances that originated it? Or is there any *via media* that may serve to explain it? These are the questions to which answers are sought, and in the present investigation several minor side-issues, which bear more or less upon them, will also have to be considered.

Assuming, for the moment, that it was based on actual facts, attention has already been directed to the circumstance, that the principal reason assigned for its existence was the extraordinary abundance of that fish at a former period. Hence, owing to its extreme cheapness, it was given to apprentices and servants several times weekly, for their principal meal, as a substitute for some other

kind of food; and their disapproval of it culminated in the insertion of the clause alluded to.

In these days, assertions are not accepted as truisms, unless they bear the test of a rigorous examination. Although it is customarily asserted that formerly the rivers of England, &c., yielded a far greater abundance of salmon than is the case at the present day, the correctness of this assertion is doubted by some who have devoted much time to its consideration. This point has such an important bearing on the subject of this paper, as to render it necessary to make some extended remarks upon it.

A previous plentiful supply is necessarily inferred from the allegation, "that the supply of salmon from the rivers and fisheries of England and Wales had of late years considerably diminished," and which led to the Commission of Inquiry into the Salmon Fisheries, in 1860-1. The first object of the Commissioners was to ascertain whether this statement had any real foundation, and they arrived at the conclusion that it was "fully substantiated by the evidence" (VI.) The following were the principal causes of the diminution enumerated by them:—pollutions from various causes, such as sewage, discharges from gas-works and factories, poisonous drainage from mines; non-observance of close time; poaching and illegal fishing generally; obstructions created by weirs,¹ stake nets, &c.; navigation by steamers; &c. During the present century, the effect of some of these has been to diminish the number of fish in

¹ The tenants of the manor of Ennerdale and Kinniside, in Cumberland, formerly "claimed a free stream, in the River Eden, from Ennerdale lake to the sea, and assembled once a year on horseback to 'ride the stream.' If obstructions were found, such as weirs or dams, they were at once destroyed." ("Ancient Customs, &c., in Cumberland," by A. C. Gibson, in *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, X., 100.

certain rivers, *e.g.*, those of Lancashire and Yorkshire; to exterminate them from others, such as the Mersey and Clyde; and to cause some rivers, like the Thames, to hold an intermediate position. The Commissioners were of opinion, that "the cheapness in former days was in great measure due to the absence of those destructive agencies that have been developed in modern times" (VII.); but the former "cheapness" is open to comment, as the inference to be drawn from their statement is that it was constant, whereas, even under the most favourable circumstances, it must have been variable—differing greatly from year to year. Moreover, a glance at the list of "destructive agencies" just enumerated, will show that some of the principal probably date back several centuries.¹

This is especially true of weirs that are so constructed as to prevent salmon passing to the upper waters, excepting under exceptional circumstances. One of the most notable examples is the one at Chester, adjoining the Dee Mills, which has existed for many centuries, and has formed the subject of continued complaint by the Inspectors of Salmon Fisheries in their Annual Reports, commencing in 1862. While on the one hand they express their opinion of the river in such favourable terms as these:—

"The River Dee possesses natural capacities equal, if not superior, to any river of its size . . . for the production of salmon" (*7th Annual Report* (1868), 10.)

"The Dee enjoys natural advantages which are shared by few of our English rivers" (*14th Annual Report* (1875), 101.)

¹ It is curious that one of the witnesses examined before the Salmon Fisheries Commission accounted for the river Wye being less productive now than when the salmon clause was in vogue, by stating that it was due to the great destruction of fish that took place during the close season (2343.) There is great reason to believe that in all periods this season was not respected by poachers or by any others.

On the other hand, their Report of the weir or causeway, owing to the absence of a proper fish pass, is one of condemnation. Here is a transcript of their remarks in 1862 :—

“The weir, indeed, is a bad impediment, and would long since have destroyed the breed of salmon in the River Dee, but for the high spring tides, which once a month rise completely over it” (*1st Annual Report*, 21.)

In 1870, when they praised the generality of weirs, that of Chester formed the “one prominent exception.” (*9th Annual Report*, 70.) The only thing needed appears to be a properly constructed salmon ladder, so as to permit of the fish having at all times a free passage up or down the stream.

Formerly, as we learn from the history of the Cheshire Dee, salmon fisheries were most strictly preserved. From an early period, certainly from the time of the Normans, among the manorial rights, that of fishing in streams and rivers was always deemed a highly important one, and was enforced under very severe penalties. Fisheries (“piscariæ”) are especially mentioned in the Domesday Book, and according to one entry in it, Eaton (“Etone”) “renders a thousand salmon.”

In 1289, the Dee fishery “immediately attached to the bridge and the mills [Chester], was valued at about £20 a year; a great sum in those days.”¹ In 1292, a man was sued for fishing in the King’s Pool, below the bridge at Chester, and catching twenty salmon, worth twenty marks, and one salmon worth 10/-.² At a solemn feast held at the Monastery of Vale Royal in 1339, two salmon cost 6/-, “where an ox is only rated at 13s. 4d., and the highest priced bull at 4/-.”³

¹ *Adventures of a Salmon*, 19, 20.

² *Ibid* 30, from *Harl. MS.*, 2020.

³ Ormerod’s *Cheshire*, II. (1882), 148; from the same MS.

At Finchale Priory, Durham, the price of ten salmon was 11/- in 1367, while in the same year a cow was sold for 7s. 6d. In 1407 the Bursar of Durham paid 50/- for five dozen of salmon for salting.¹ In 1486, at the feast of the Brotherhood of Corpus Christi at Maidstone, "one fresh salmon" cost 6s. 8d.²

The expenses of the Sheriff of Yorkshire, at the Lent Assizes in 1528, included :

"in great fresh salmon, twenty-eight - 3 16 8"

and at the Lammas Assizes, in 1529—

"Salt Salmon - - - - -	1 0 0
fresh Salmon and great - - -	3 6 8" ³

The Municipal Regulations of Chester, made in 1555, "forbade the selling of salmon except as a whole fish, for eight persons are fined $\frac{3}{4}$ each, 1569, for buying salmon and selling them again in pieces (*per pecias*), dividing the profits of the same amongst the fishermen" (Canon Morris' *Chester, &c.*, 424.)

In *The Shuttleworth Accounts* (edited by J. Harland, Chet. Soc.), annual purchases of salmon are entered between 1583 and 1617. In 1589, "Fyvfe salte samons" cost xx^s, and three in the following year xvij^s. ij^d. In February, 1593-4, was bought at Preston Fair, "one salte salmon viij^s. vj^d;" at that time, judging from other items, fish was very dear, *e.g.*, "fower salt iles [eels] ij^s. iiij^d." The majority of entries are for *salt* fish; here, however, is one to the contrary:—1598. "halfe a freshe salmon" xxij^d. After 1600 the price diminished, the lowest being the following, in 1617: "a salmon fishe, xvij^d."

¹ *N. and Q.*, 3rd S., VI., 13.

² *Ibid* XI., 116.

³ J. Croft, *Excerpta Antiqua* (1797), 84, 87.

In the Account Book of "The Drawers of Dee" (an extinct trade guild), under date 1606, is this entry:—

"20 Augustij.

paid for a fish geven to Mr. Glaseor	iij ^s . vjd.
geven to one to bring him the fish	vid "

Mr. Hugh Glasier was M.P. for Chester at that date.¹

The following is extracted from the Exeter Municipal Records:—

"1612. September 10. Mr. Recorder, and every member of the Common Council that has served the office of Mayor, shall have yearly two Salmons of the Farme of the Fishery, the said Farmer to be allowed for every Salmon 3s. 4d."²

The foregoing will sufficiently illustrate the statement, that down to the period of the Reformation, salmon, whether fresh or salted, fetched a high price; and many similar quotations might be made to corroborate it; the difficulty being to find an example where the price could be deemed "cheap." Some monastic establishments held salmon fisheries, and increased their incomes by selling at a good price their surplus fish. Owing to the number of fish days prescribed by the Roman Catholic Church, the demand for, and consumption of, all kinds of this article of diet must have been very great, as it still is in those countries where the same form of religion is generally followed. The great demand continued in England long after the Reformation. Although it is generally but erroneously assumed that the change which then took place in the forms of religious worship, was attended with an early falling off in the use of fish as an article of diet, "whatever may have been the state of the trade elsewhere," remarks Canon Morris, "the traffic in fish at the Port in Chester does not appear to

¹ *Cheshire Sheaf*, I., 315.

² "Exeter Miscellanea," in *Western Times*, 1849.

have suffered any diminution . . . during the reign of Elizabeth" (472.)

Judging from the few entries in *The Shuttleworth Accounts*, the price lessened under the Stuarts.

It is a difficult matter to reconcile these constant high prices for salmon with the assumption of its superabundance, as the asserted clause in the indentures of apprentices would lead us to believe. This very difficulty is thus noticed in a Review of *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, 1513-1522, in the *Times* of September 30th, 1893:—

"We are puzzled by the cost of salmon. We know [*sic*] that long afterwards the salmon were so common that domestic servants in many districts bargained that they should only be fed on them on certain days in the week. Yet, according to these lists, a salmon fetched twice as much as an average sheep, and something more than half the price of the cheaper cattle."

A remarkable statement, considering that the rivers of Scotland have always been regarded as yielding enormous numbers of this fish, of which large quantities were exported. "From Scotland . . . there was in old times a large export of salmon (chiefly salted), many curious proofs of the fact being found among the old Scottish Statutes."¹ According to the Statutes of the Fishmongers of London, early in the 13th century, dues are noted to be paid by "a vessel of Scotland that brings salmon"—no other is mentioned.² "A considerable export of Scotch salmon (pickled) chiefly to Flanders and France, took place as early as 1380."³ A letter dated October 30th, 1761,⁴ records that salmon caught in the

¹ Russell. *The Salmon*, 4.

² *Liber Albus*, tr. H. J. Riley (1861), 325.

³ Russell, 91.

⁴ Printed in *Gent's Magazine*, 1788, i., 127-9.

Tweed were sent to London fresh; or if any delay occurred, some were boiled and pickled; others (when abundant) being salted "for a foreign market." In 1707, J. Brome,¹ described the "great store and plenty" yielded by the same river. Oddly enough, while he mentions the circumstance of a salmon being sold for a shilling, and alludes to the salmon clause as a proof of plenty and cheapness, he adds, "as for all other Provision they are scarce enough here." On the other hand, in the letter of 1761, just quoted, is this passage:—

"The produce of this river [the Tweed] is variable, being seldom two years alike, and for many seasons together unproductive . . . while another time, for many subsequent seasons, the salmon are remarkably plenty." (127.)

Of the former abundance of the fish yielded by the rivers Ayr and Doon, the following testimony is recorded in the *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, V. (1845) 51:—

"That salmon were caught in much greater abundance in the rivers Ayr and Doon than at present, and that they constituted a principal part of the food of the poor, is evident from printed regulations which we have seen of the Poor's house, about the time when it was established, in 1759. In these it is directed that this fish was to form the diet of the paupers twice every week."

Then follows a paragraph that the writer had "seen it recorded somewhere" of the salmon clause having been stipulated by "farm-servants in the vicinity of the Forth, in Stirlingshire."

According to some authors, a large supply was obtained from the Irish rivers. That the fish was abundant and cheap in Limerick is shown, according to Halls' *Ireland*, by the existence of this clause in indentures; but the following significant remark follows:—

"the increased facilities for exporting to England have of course materially raised the price of the fish. (I. 339.)

¹ Travels over England, &c., 176.

The dues from the Blackwater fishery were received by the great Earl of Cork in the earlier half of the 17th century. According to his Diary, printed in the *Lismore Papers*, the salmon in that locality must have been deemed a valuable article. It contains many entries relating to it, of which these are examples :—

“1628, July 28. Sir Geddon Anshams daughter sent my wif a whole Salmon baked in a pastie, which I sent thearle of Manchester, L. president of ye counsell.”

“1641, Aug. 30. I gave Rich. Holworthy my letters of credit to Roger Carew to supply him with so much salmon as will satisfy this money [£250].”¹

Russell states that England formerly “had an over-abundant supply, except in those districts far removed from the fisheries” (4, 5.) The latter part of this statement is no doubt correct enough; but the “over-abundant supply” may be questioned. If salmon were so plentiful, why (as remarked upon previously), was its price so high, even in places contiguous to the fisheries? We must not assume that this large yield (if correct) was constant from year to year; nor that because the supply exceeded the requirements of the population at or near the fisheries, it of necessity implied the yield to be actually greater than at a late date, when it was generally reported to be diminishing. True it is, that there is, and always has been, a general complaint as to the gradual diminution of the supply. The fishermen and others examined before the Salmon Fishery Commissioners complained of a great falling off within their recollection—that is to say, well within the present century. But as far back as 1808, Vancouver commented upon “the alarming deficiency of late years in the salmon fishery” of the Taw (*Agric. of Devon*, 75.) The

¹ Ed. Grosart, 1st S., II., 269; V., 187.

most telling remarks that have yet been made on this point emanated from the Editor of the *Worcester Herald*, when commenting upon the clause in question :—

“Such statements have been made to me on the banks of the Ness, the Spey, the Tay, the Forth, and the Tweed, in Scotland ; and here, in Worcester, on the Severn. How is this to be reconciled with the fact that, from an early portion in the Henry series of our English Statutes, passing downwards through the reigns of Plantagenets, Tudors, Stuarts, and Guelphs, to the 24 and 25 Vict., c. 109, there are, in the Statutes at large, a great number of Acts of Parliament, all declaring that the salmon fishery had decreased, and was constantly diminishing ? So far as England is concerned, this seems to be conclusive.”¹

One of the marked characteristics of the annual yield of salmon in any one river is its extreme variability ; and, as shown in the case of the Tweed, while there may be a great glut in some years, in others there is a great scarcity. This has probably always existed. Side by side with the reputed great diminution, we have the following authentic statement :—At Limerick, in 1832, such “an immense quantity of fish were caught that the price in the shops was two pence per pound.”²

Although, as already observed, we possess no evidence that formerly salmon was low priced, even in localities where there was at times an unusually large catch of that fish, it can be readily understood that under such circumstances the selling price might have been very low ; but we must bear in mind that there was always a great demand for salted fish, and a ready sale for it at all markets and fairs—this alone would keep up the price. But occasional abundance and cheapness locally were too commonly attended with scarcity and dearth

¹ *N. and Q.*, 3rd S., VIII., 234.

² *N. and Q.*, 3rd S., VII., 322.

elsewhere, owing to there being no facilities for transit, except by sea; higher prices being obtained when the latter was improved; as already pointed out was the case at Limerick.

The present rapid communication between all parts of the Kingdom, aided by the telegraph, have virtually made the whole country into one market, with a general levelling of prices. Fresh fish is now obtainable in the remotest parts of the country, to which, in the early part of the century, it was impossible to be conveyed; the increased demand creating and maintaining the comparatively high price of the fish, apart from any question of diminution of supply.

One of the asserted proofs of the former abundance of salmon is worth noting here, *viz.*, that in the first half of the 14th century, "salmon fry was taken from the Thames and given to the pigs."¹ But in 1808, Vancouver reported that a similar form of destruction took place in fry from the Taw river (75-6); and in 1860, one of the witnesses examined before the Salmon Fishery Commissioners, testified (671) that "quantities" of them from the Severn were disposed of in a similar manner.² According to Pulman, "such enormous quantities" of the fry were taken in the River Axe in 1835, or following year, "that, after supplying tables far and near, the residue were thrown about the fields for manure." (549) In Scotland, Mackenzie affirms that yairs, "the fore-runners of the stake-nets," destroyed "immense quantities of the fry of all fishes."³ These statements serve to show that centuries ago, equally

¹ *N. and Q.*, 3rd S., VIII., 234.

² In *Brittany and its Byways*, 151, Mr. Palliser records another instance at Pontaven, in Brittany.

³ *Salmon Fishery of Scotland* (1860), 92.

with the present one, there was an occasional glut of the salmon fry.

The following singular passage is transcribed from the work of Mackenzie, and may fitly be noticed here:—

“It is of grown fish that there is the greatest scarcity, because from the multiplicity of fishings, and modes of destruction, the salmon are not allowed to attain their full size.” (11)

This point does not appear to have attracted the attention of the Salmon Fishery Commissioners in 1860, but it is one that deserves further enquiry.

Not as a proof of plentiful supply, but in explanation of the salmon clause, if a reality, F. Buckland advanced the following opinion:—

“In the spring months the good folks used to go out and catch the kelts which came helpless and emaciated down the river after spawning operations. . . . Salmon in this condition are easily captured, . . . and dreadfully nasty, tough unwholesome food they invariably afford. Now, provided citizens who had apprentices to feed would buy large numbers of these kelts, salt them down, hang them up in a dry place to dry, and use them as food, upon which the unfortunate apprentices might be fed at a cheap rate for many months to come.”¹

The suggestion is a very probable one, if we could only tide over the difficulty of verifying the correctness of the tradition. That kelts are still caught and used for food, generally in the kippered form, is affirmed by a correspondent (*N. and Q.*, 8th S., VII., 312); also by two of the witnesses at the Salmon Fisheries Enquiry (1588, 1632, 2056.) According to the experience of Mr. Ayrton, the kelt is “either dried for red salmon in the cottager’s chimney, or sold for three-halfpence a pound to some neighbouring farmer.”² A statement corrobora-

¹ *British Fishes*, 360.

² *Adventures of a Salmon*, 74.

rated in the 4th Annual Report of the Inspectors of Salmon Fisheries (1865):—

“Salmon appear to be killed in some rivers in great numbers during the close season, for the purpose of supplying the dried fish market; two or three days in the cottage chimney render their sale legal, and as the price they command in this condition is a high one, the trade is very profitable” (32.)

One highly important side-issue connected with this subject is the intimate relationship said to exist between fish eating generally and the production of leprosy; especially as it is asserted that salmon especially was a direct cause of this disease. Should this be capable of proof, we can readily understand that the terrible dread of becoming a leper—cut off from association with his fellows, socially and religiously, and dead in the eye of the law—would be a sufficient reason for the apprentices' stipulation, should such be shown to exist. On this matter the Rev. R. Polwhele makes the following assertions in his *History of Cornwall*, VII. (1806), 88:—

“As this disease of leprosy is now extinct, it must have sprung from some cause which is . . . done away . . . The more prevailing notion is that the leprosy was generated by the eating of salmon too frequently, and at unseasonable times. That our forefathers thought so, is evident from covenants which I have seen in this county, and in Devon, stipulating that no apprentices or servants shall be obliged to dine on salmon more than once or twice a week. And we are told, that in consequence of a due abstinence from salmon, lazaret houses became no longer necessary. In the same manner this disease is said to have prevailed in Ireland, till the English laid the Irish under restrictions in their use of salmon.”

Two writers have adopted, as being correct, the first portion of Polwhele's statement. Counsel, in his *History of Gloucester* (1829), 157, alludes to the well-known clause as being “undoubtedly intended as a precaution against this grievous disorder [leprosy].” And a corres-

ponent of *N. and Q.* (3rd S., VIII., 298) suggests, "the prevalence of leprosy at that period may have been occasioned by partaking too freely of fish [salmon]."

It would be advantageous to know whence Polwhele obtained his information, as unfortunately he cites no authorities. There is no evidence that salmon (or any kind of fresh fish) *per se* produced leprosy; that abstinence from it rendered unnecessary the use of lazar houses; or that the disease was arrested in Ireland by the English in the manner stated.

In the middle of the 17th century, Dr. Tho. Muffett [Moufet] affirmed, "hot salmon is counted unwholesome in England; and suspected as a leprous meal, without all reason."¹

Newman² states, that, excepting Cornwall, leprosy "approximately disappeared" from England in the 16th century (109), whereas it continued in Scotland and Ireland until nearly the middle of the eighteenth. It is singular that in Newman's list of leper or lazar hospitals only two are recorded as being in Cheshire (he mentions three, but two of the instances refer to the same institution), while Devonshire had eight.

We are too apt to regard the leprosy of the early and middle ages as a single disease, whereas, as Dr. Creighton has shown in his *History of Epidemics*, the term included (so far as the occupancy of lazar houses is concerned) not only true leprosy, but also those suffering from aggravated cutaneous and other repulsive diseases, who formed three-fourths of the entire number. All these, as a rule, resulted not from one, but from a combination of causes, of which the chief factors were

¹ *Health's Improvement* (1655), 187.

² *Decline of Leprosy in the British Islands* (1895)

the general uncleanness and want of the most common sanitary arrangements, the restricted amount of fresh vegetables, the employment of mouldy (the disease known in Italy as "pellagra," is allied to leprosy, and is caused by eating bread made of damaged maize) and even of ergotised grain, frequent famines and plagues, and the excessive amount of salted, or rather of imperfectly salted food.

Down to the latter end of the 16th century, and in many places extending to a much later date, a large proportion of the flesh and fish was salted and stored for winter use. Amongst the better classes salt was freely used, and the provisions so treated kept well. But to the poor it was a serious matter; salt was an expensive commodity, and "a couple of bushels . . . often cost as much as a sheep," so that being imperfectly salted, the food had to be eaten in a state "only half-cured or semi-putrid."

Mr. Jonathan Hutchinson is of opinion that "the evidence as regards this disease [leprosy] points to fish as being probably the vehicle by which the poison of leprosy gains access to the human body." He supports it by extracts from many authorities of the influence of fish-eating combined with insanitary surroundings; and more especially "all kinds of preserved or salted fish, or fish in a state of partial decomposition."¹

"It is strange, if not significant," writes Dr. Newman, "that the decline of leprosy and the decline of excessive eating of salt and bad as well as fresh fish, should occur at the same period. Also that the endemic leprosy areas and the fish areas were largely identical" (74.)

¹ "The Leprosy Problem," appended to *Archives of Surgery*, I. (1890), xi.-xvi.

The gradual substitution of fresh for salted or imperfectly salted provisions; the greater employment of fresh vegetables, with better bread; in addition to the marked improvements in personal cleanliness and sanitation, have not only resulted in the diminution and ultimate cessation of true leprosy in England, but have also lessened, to a very considerable extent, the number of cases of aggravated cutaneous affections.¹

If, as is asserted, genuine leprosy continued in Scotland for nearly two centuries later than it did in England, we can scarcely wonder at it, if the following order of the Scots' Parliament, held at Scone in 1386, continued to be acted on :—

“Gif ony man brings to the market corrupt swine or salmond to be sauld, they sall be taken by the Bailie and incontinent without ony question sall be sent to the lepper-folke; and gif there be no lepper-folke, they sall be destroyed alluterlie” (Creighton, 113.)

We intuitively feel that a tradition so wide-spread must have been based on some fact or facts, all actual knowledge of which, although it may be surmised, is unknown; and it must also be borne in mind that we possess no positive evidence it was ever carried into practice. Notwithstanding the numerous local verbal traditions, and the statements by authors respecting it, no apprentices' indentures containing this singular clause, or even a copy of the clause itself, have yet been produced, despite all the enquiries that have been made, and the pecuniary inducements offered for the discovery

¹ It is beyond the scope of the present paper to pursue further the causation of leprosy by certain articles of food, especially salted or imperfectly cured fish. Those who desire additional knowledge concerning it, may consult the Works of Dr. Creighton and Dr. Newman, already quoted; Dr. Jessopp's "Village Life 600 years ago," in his *Coming of the Friars*, &c.; White's *Selborne* (1876), I., 213-5; and J. Hutchinson's "Leprosy as a Problem," as well as his articles in the *Lancet* of 1890, vol. I.

of one. Its very foundation, *viz.*, the assumed former superabundance of salmon, is scarcely borne out by the facts now brought forward, testifying to the high repute in which it was always held, and of the high prices it almost invariably commanded.¹ Nevertheless it is quite possible that some tacit or verbal agreement existed between apprentices and their masters, limiting the number of weekly dinners of fish, whether fresh or salted, the latter especially, during those occasional years when it was extraordinarily cheap owing to its unusual abundance; of this, however, we have no evidence or knowledge whatever. In connection with this, it must not be forgotten that salt fish was required in large quantities all over the kingdom, and was sold at a good price at the various large fairs, to purchasers who came from a considerable distance. For example, the following entry is taken from the Steward's Accounts of Haddon Hall, Derbyshire:—

“1549. It allso delyvered ye xiiijth of februarye by my masters Comandment into ye hands of Mastr agarde to by fysshe at lychefylde fayer the some of xlii.”²

It would naturally be thought, that after an unusually large catch of fish, such as is implied by “superabundance,” when, in the fresh condition, the wants of the immediate locality had been supplied, and facilities for its transit to the inland districts were wanting, that the residue would have been salted, for which there was at all times a ready sale.

Should the salmon clause tradition be subsequently found to be based on some substantial facts, one or

¹ In the early part of the 15th century Dame Berners wrote: “the samond ys the most goodly fyche that man may angle to in fresche water.” *Treatyse of Fysshynge with an angle* (reprinted 1883, 21.)

² *Transactions of Derbyshire Archæological Society*, XVI., 64.

more of the following may prove to be the *raison d'être* :—

1. The occasional superabundance ;
2. The use of unclean fish (kelts), as suggested by F. Buckland ;
3. The dread of leprosy.

Personal testimony of its existence has been cited, and this at first sight appears to demonstrate the correctness of the tradition, but the evidence (if it can be accepted as such) is considerably weakened by the circumstance that in every instance many years had elapsed since the indentures containing, or said to contain, it had been seen, and we are all fully aware that the memory of events long since past is apt to be misleading and treacherous. ("The current of belief is commonly a stream formed by the union of many rills of conjecture and sentiment.") It is certain that authors have frequently assumed the tradition to be correct on hearsay evidence alone.¹

It is noteworthy that the indentures are said to have referred to no other fish than salmon, but whether in the fresh or salted condition is never mentioned.² We can hardly realise that apprentices would object to fresh salmon twice weekly, especially when other kinds of food were dear, and therefore to them almost unobtainable. Other fish, however, both fresh and salted, were in common use as food, and if apprentices objected to salt fish at all, we should naturally suppose that it would

¹ When collecting materials for his recently published *History of Horn-books*, the author, G. W. Tuer, met with some curious examples of asserted facts proving to be illusory, which led to his remark that "personal statements are often to be received with a heaped cellar-ful of salt" (I., 42.)

² Excepting in one Chester instance already related, where "cured or salt salmon" was believed to be the form specified.

rather be to cheap and coarse varieties like cod, ling, &c. A greater objection might have been raised to stockfish—dried without being salted, and as hard as a piece of wood; or to fish imperfectly salted, or half-putrid. “Stockfish, whilst it is unbeaten, is called buckhorne, because it is so tough; when it is beaten upon the stock, it is termed stockfish.”¹

No allusion to the salmon clause has been discovered in any mediæval work, and the earliest notice of it yet found is contained in Fuller’s *Worthies*, published in 1662.² As already pointed out, it is said to have continued to a very recent period, without, however, leaving any proof that it once existed; “documentary evidence” in its favor being entirely wanting.

It would be remarkable if it commenced with the 17th century, as it would be coincident with a gradual diminution in the yield of salmon throughout England (according to some authorities), and with a gradual and progressive improvement in the character of the food supplied to the lower classes.

The only conclusion at which we can arrive, after a due consideration of the preceding remarks, is, in the present state of our knowledge of the subject, an unsatisfactory one; and until we are able to obtain, as a result of further researches, some direct positive evidence in support of this tradition, now entirely wanting, we are unable to regard the asserted salmon clause in the indentures of apprentices in any other light than as a myth.

¹ *Health Improvement*, (1655), 187.

² Kingsley asserts it was in use at Winchester 300 years ago (*Water Babies*, 1886, 113), but gives no authority.



The Antiquity of Place-Names

BY F. HAVERFIELD, F.S.A.



WAS recently engaged in the compilation, with two Herefordshire Archæologists, of a survey of Pre-conquest Antiquities found in that county, and in the course of the work some problems concerning place-names arose, which led me to communicate the subjoined paragraphs to the Woolhope Field Club, which is the Herefordshire Antiquarian Society. One of the problems concerns Cheshire, and it has therefore seemed to me worth while to reprint the notes in question with some additions, and to append to them certain observations with special reference to Cheshire. My notes are as follows :—

The survival of Romano-British place-names is a matter of considerable interest to the antiquary as well as to the historian. They form a part of the small legacy which we English in England have inherited from the Kelts who preceded us. In Herefordshire there appears to be only two such cases of survival. Ariconium, usually and plausibly located at Bolitree and Weston-under-Penyard, near Ross, probably survives in Archenfield. Magnae (or whatever was the nominative of the form known to us only in the ablative Magnis) may probably be traced in the name of a West Saxon tribe which occupied much of Herefordshire, the Mage-saete. The oldest form of their name, as given in

a document of A.D. 811, is Magonsæte, that is the dwellers at Magon. The word is compounded like Dorsaeta, the dwellers at Dur(novaria) and in the land of the Dur(otriges), now Dorset, and other Saxon place and tribe names. The evidence on the matter is set forth in the annexed letter written at my request by Mr. W. H. Stevenson, Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, who is perhaps the first living authority on the subject of English place-names. I desire particularly to call attention to the fact that there is old and definite evidence in favour of the derivation, because mere similarity of modern forms goes for little. Nothing has been a greater source of confusion in the study of Romano-British topography than the attempts, made first—and worst—by Camden, to identify apparently similar names without tracing their history. It is absolutely necessary in all cases to research, and I believe that no better work could be done by local archæologists than a detailed examination of the significance, the origin, and the various forms and proper use of their local place names. How long, for instance, has the name Watling Street been applied to the Roman road from Wroxeter through Leintwardine to Kenchester? Watling Street is, of course, an old name in itself: is it an old name as used of this particular road? I cannot find out that any county historian has paid the least attention to the point. Yet, as the road is in many places a boundary, it is almost sure to be mentioned in some charter or map or terrier or estate-survey. So far as is known at present there is nothing to determine whether the name is old or was invented for this road by some antiquary (say) in the seventeenth century. There was at that time a good deal of such inventions. For instance, there are two Morecambes,

competing inventions for the site of the bay Moricambê mentioned by Ptolemy; the one is on the Solway, the other near Lancaster. Watling Street, in Herefordshire, may be a similar invention, but we need evidence of its age to decide. The matter is an important one. The meaning of the name 'Watling' is notoriously obscure, and one of the first conditions for deciphering it is a knowledge of its proper use. Was it applied only to one or two roads, or to many? At once we come to the question, how old the name is in Herefordshire? The problem is also important for students of the Anglo-Saxon roads, since the antiquity of the name probably corresponds to the antiquity of the road in actual use.

The oldest reference which I know to the use of the name "Watling Street," in Herefordshire, is in Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, p. 388. "The country people near Wroxeter give the name W. S. to the way which goes through the middle of Shropshire into Herefordshire (as I apprehend) to Kenchester." Horsley's book was published in 1732. I confess I should like older and more distinct testimony. As the road forms in some places a parish boundary, and often (I should imagine) an estate boundary, deeds, terriers, and charters, should exist which would take us back far beyond 1732. The only old name for the road which I can discover is 'Bot-' or 'Botte-street,' which Mr. Eyton mentions as used for the Shropshire part of the road in early times. The road itself seems to have been in use in Anglo-Saxon times as a road from Shropshire to Herefordshire—see Owen & Blake-way's "History of Shrewsbury" (London, 1825) i. p. 27, note.

I now subjoin Mr. Stevenson's very valuable letter on the forms of the name of the Magesaete:—

“The earliest form of *Magesætan* is in an original charter of 811 (Cartul. Saxon, i., 462, line 1): ‘on Magonsetum æt Geardcylle’ (Yarkhill, co. Hereford). *Setum* is dat. pl. of *Sete* (W. Sax. *sæte*). This form is important, and I think supports the derivation from *Magn(is)*. A like form occurs in a 14th cent. copy of a Glouc. charter (C.S. ii. 152), which I believe to be genuine: ‘in *Magansetum* iiii. manentia [hides] on Briencandafelda.’ The latter is a corruption or misreading of O.E. letters representing a form of Irchingfield, as the Gloucester chartulary says that the grant was in *Erchenefeld*. In 959 (C.S. iii., 242, 20) it is *pagus Magesætna* (gen. pl. of *Magesætan*). This charter shows that Staunton-on-Arrow and Hay, county Hereford, were in the district of the *Magesætan*. Chronicle 1016 *Magesætan* (dat. pl., the people, not the district), 1041 *Roni Magesetensium* (comes); Florence of Worcester, ed. Thorpe, i. 265. This chronicler (i. 289), says:—*Et quia civitas Wigornia, tempore quo regnabant Brytones vel Romani in Brytannia, et tunc et nunc totius Hwicciae vel Magesetaniae metropolis extitit famosa, &c.* Here *vel* must be copulative, since Hwiccia and M. were not identical. Flor. (i. 238) has a list entitled ‘*Nomina praesulum Magesetensium sive Herefordensium.*’”

To these notes I may add the following observations. I am afraid that in Cheshire there are very few demonstrable survivals of Romano-British place-names. Deva, of course, lives in Dee, but it is the solitary exception. The late Mr. Watkin put Condote at Kinderton and Veratinum near Warrington; and, if these sites could

be proved to be what he thought, the slight similarity of the names would no doubt be significant. But I am afraid that the identifications are extremely doubtful, and I am inclined to think that it was mainly the similarity in names which led Mr. Watkin to suggest them. We ought then to discard them, or at least to treat them as wholly doubtful, and therefore we must content ourselves with only one Romano-British name surviving—Dee. On the other hand, Cheshire possesses a Watling Street, and the purpose of these paragraphs is to enquire, or to set others enquiring, what is the age of the name. The name Watling Street is, of course, a well-known one, and a very old one. It is used, and has been used since Saxon days, to denote the great Roman road from London, by St. Albans and Lichfield, to Wroxeter, near Shrewsbury. It is used also to denote the Roman road which runs through Durham county, crosses the Roman Wall, and passes across Northumberland, over the Cheviots to the immediate neighbourhood of Jedburgh and Melrose. I believe this is also an ancient use, at any rate in England, but I have no direct evidence before me on the subject. These two are the chief uses of the name Watling Street, but they are not the only uses. There are certainly three other cases, all in the western half of England. One is in Herefordshire, as noted above; a second is in Lancashire, near to Preston; the third is in Cheshire, between Chester and Manchester. The antiquity of the name in Herefordshire is discussed above: it may be as old as 1732, but on the other hand, it may be also a mere extension southwards of the name as used between London and Wroxeter; for Horsley's words seem to imply that he knew the name only near Wroxeter, as applied to the Wroxeter and Kenchester

road. The antiquity of the Lancashire example I have not been able to ascertain, and everyone seems to be equally in the dark as to the age of the name in Cheshire. Now that Archæological Surveys of Counties are in active preparation on many sides, it may not be amiss to call attention to such ignorance, and to suggest that it should be met by a careful exploration of deeds, charters, and the like. Each county Society should endeavour to compile a list of the place-names in the county in question, with a careful statement of their oldest ascertainable forms, their proper uses, and other such information. Such an historical dictionary of topography is one of the principal things which the student of early Britain (British, Roman, or Saxon) needs at the present moment.





Effigy in Holy Trinity Church, Chester

BY STEPHEN W. WILLIAMS, F.S.A.

THE effigy of John de Whitmore, in Holy Trinity Church, Chester, is an interesting specimen of the military equipment of an English Knight of the middle or latter part of the 14th century, and is of a type that prevailed during that period, the main features of which dominated through the first half of the succeeding century.

The characteristics of this type are: the pointed bascinet, with a camail, or mail covering for the neck and shoulders, attached to it (generally by laces drawn through staples or loops); the tight surcoat or jupon, much padded on the breast, and often emblazoned with the knight's armorial bearings; the horizontal sword belt, worn low down on the hips, formed of square plaques of embossed metal, which were frequently ornamented with enamel work; the thighs, arms, and legs covered with close-fitting plate-armour, simple in form, and shewing the mail beneath at the joints; the hands covered with steel gauntlets, often of most elaborate design and workmanship; and the feet covered with flexible steel shoes, called sollerets.

In all probability the surcoat covers a breast and back plate of steel; but, so far as the effigies go, this is a question they do not answer. We know that when the surcoat is first worn it covers a simple hauberk,

and that when it is discarded, a hundred years later, it discloses a very complete and well-constructed breast and back plate of steel. It is, however, most probable that not only was a steel back and breast plate worn at the period of which we are now treating, but even at an earlier date it was worn as an additional protection under the coat of mail.

The bascinet had sometimes a movable vizor, generally fastened on by means of a pin passing through a hinge or loop fixed on each side. When this was not used the tilting helm was worn over the bascinet in the time of actual combat; and in monumental effigies the knight is generally represented with it under his head.

The writer of this short paper has not had the advantage of seeing the Chester effigy, and it is of course very difficult to properly describe its characteristics from a drawing, however carefully it may be made. The figure, which is recumbent in an attitude of prayer, is represented in a complete suit of plate-armour, wearing a jupon or tight-fitting surcoat, upon which his armorial bearings are emblazoned, as well as upon the shield which is suspended by a broad strap over the right shoulder, and lies on his left side. The arms are "*Fretty*," or "*Trellis*"; careful examination of the monument may disclose the tinctures.

The bascinet is acutely pointed, the camail is attached to it by means of laces passed through staples or "*vervelles*." An enriched orle or wreath surrounds the bascinet; this was probably intended to keep the tilting helm steady when placed over it.

There appears to be a chin piece or *mentonnière* of plate, to which the camail is attached. This is a some-

what unusual feature. The introduction of a gorget or *bavier* of plate, worn over the camail, took place about the end of the 14th century, and the gorget and chin-piece eventually superseded entirely the use of the camail.

Èpaulières (epaulets), consisting of overlapping plates, protect the shoulders; they were usually three or four in number.

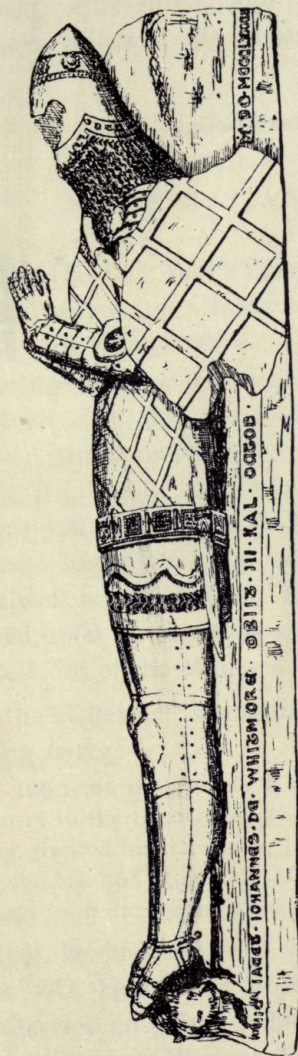
The forearm, so far as can be seen in the illustration, is protected by a *vambrace* of laminated plates, and the elbows by *coudières*, with some kind of ornament on the fan-like portion. The hands are not covered; as a rule, effigies of this period are generally depicted with gauntlets.

There appear to be only some fragments left of the sword suspended on the left side from the broad belt worn below the hip, and ornamented with metal plaques; the detail of these are often very beautiful. On the right side the "miserecord" or "anelace" would be found, also suspended from the belt.

Below the belt is seen the scalloped edge of the jupon—beneath that was worn the hauberk of mail; in this case it cannot be traced on the illustration, unless the line of ornament under the edge of the jupon is intended to represent it. Below that again would be the quilted gambeson, in all probability indicated by the double line below the band of ornament.

The thighs and legs are encased in plate; laminated and pointed sollerets protect the feet; and rowell spurs are buckled over the insteps.

The date in the inscription is A.D. 1374. The general characteristics of the armour agree very well with that date, or a somewhat later period; and it



Alabaster Effigy of John de Whitmore, Mayor of Chester 1369 to 1372,
now in Holy Trinity Church, Chester.

must be borne in mind that the monument may not have been executed immediately after the decease of the person represented, and in that case the artist might have followed the prevailing fashion of a later period.



BY HENRY TAYLOR, F.S.A.



JOHN DE WHYTEMORE or Whitmore was Mayor of Chester in 1369 and the three following years. He married Cicely, sole daughter and heiress of John son of Margaret, daughter and heiress of John son of Eustachia, daughter and heiress of Ralph de Vernon, son of Warin de Vernon, Baron of Shipbrook, in the time of King John. They had a son John, who combined in himself through his father and his mother the two lines of the old family of Haselwell or Heswell of Thurstaston, and may thus be looked upon as the first member of his family who was sole Lord of the Manor of Thurstaston.

On the Chester Recognizance Rolls there is the following entry:—

1393. John son of John de Whytemore being about to leave the country in the train of Hugh de Calveley, Knight, Senior, the King granted his licence to John de Capenhurst, Edmund de Whytemore and Roger de Merton to act as the Attornies of the said John during his absence.

In 1395 he had returned, and entered into a recognizance with Hamon de Bostock. In 7 Henry IV. he had protection on going to Ireland in the King's service in the retinue of Thomas de Lancastre, Steward and Admiral of England and Lieutenant of Ireland. He died 16 Henry VI.

John the father died on the 3rd October, 1374, and was buried at Trinity Church, Chester, where the alabaster monument (of which an illustration is given in this number of the Journal with the paper by my friend Mr. Stephen Williams, F.S.A., and also in Volume I. of the Old Series, page 356), was found on the 30th May, 1853, near to the eastern door, under the pew then belonging to the late William Makepeace Thackeray, M.D. It is mentioned by Hemingway in his *History of Chester*, that "this figure was removed in consequence of some alterations, and deposited in a vault under the seat now occupied by Dr. Thackeray."

It was exhumed by order of the vestry. Since then the church has been rebuilt, and it is to be regretted that more care has not been taken of this, one of the oldest and most interesting monuments in the city. From the description given in Volume I., before referred to, it would appear that the monument when exhumed was not so much damaged as might have been expected. It has evidently suffered since its exhumation, and more care should be taken to preserve it. I fear the anticipations of the writer in Volume I., as to the reverence for and care of monuments once consigned to the care of the Parish, have not been well founded. It is also stated, "It may be observed how close a resemblance the general design bears to that of Hugh Calveley at Bunbury Church." It is possible that it was the work of the same sculptor, for we have seen that John Whitmore the son was a comrade of our celebrated Cheshire "Soldier of Fortune," Sir Hugh Calveley, whose exploits in France, Spain, and other parts of the continent of Europe have been so vividly depicted by Froissart, and have furnished materials for so many historical romance writers. An able and interesting

paper on Bruera Chapel, Bunbury Church, and Saughton Grange, the home of Sir Hugh's family, the Calveleys of Lea, written by the late Mr. William Ayrton, will be found in Volume I. before mentioned.

The Arms upon the shield on the monument, viz.:—"Vert Fretty Or," prove the connection of the Whitmores of Chester and Thurstaston with the Shropshire family of the same name. The Whitmores of Apley Park, Salop, are lineally descended from William de Whyttemore, who resided at Whyttemore in the Parish of Bobbington, in the same County, in 39 Henry III. (1255.)

Mr. Helsby in the last edition of Ormerod's *History of Cheshire* says of the Whitmore pedigree that its compilation cost him more labour than any other pedigree in his valuable work, as it was so difficult to reconcile the contradictions of the Cheshire genealogies in the earlier descents.

In Volume II. of our Journal (New Series), page 180, in my paper on some early Chester Deeds, I give one dated June 24th, 1367, which conveys to John son of William de Whyttemore, junior, citizen of Chester, a messuage in Bridge Street, Chester, which "lies in width between the Mothalle lone (now Commonhall Street) on the one side, and the land of John de Whyttemore senior and the land, &c., on the other."

In the pedigree in Ormerod there is no mention of this John the son of William, nor yet of his father. I think, however, the John de Whyttemore senior, described as the owner of adjoining land, was very possibly the one to whose memory the monument was erected, and, if so, then we may perhaps fix his residence as having been in Bridge Street. I find from a note by

Mr. Helsby in Ormerod, that in the time of Henry VII., among their other possessions in Chester the Whitmores had a messuage "called the Black Hall in Brygge Streete in the tenure of Joan Ledsham, Widow."

I wonder if this was the same property as that mentioned in the deed; if so, it was probably situate where the "Harp and Crown" Inn now stands. Attached to this deed is a seal in a very perfect condition. An illustration of it is given (at page 168, Vol. II.) in my former paper. It bears a shield fretty, charged in the first quarter with a Frette. The legend around it is: "Sigill' Iohis de Whitemore." I am inclined to think it was the seal of John the father of William, the Frette being charged upon the first quarter of the shield for a difference, to mark his cadency—as a younger son.

There is much to be gathered about this old Chester and Cheshire family, which took such an active part in the affairs of the city and neighbourhood in the mediæval past, which I hope may sometime be printed in our Journal.





Six Early Deeds relating to property in Northgate Street, Chester

BY HENRY TAYLOR, F.S.A.

(Read 20th January, 1896.)

ON the 19th March, 1888, I exhibited to this Society a number of Early Chester Deeds, relating to the Mediæval Cestrian Family of Doncaster. I am told that these deeds have proved to be of service to local historians and genealogists, and I am therefore encouraged to produce other similar records now in my possession.

This evening I exhibit half-a-dozen of these documents, referring to property in Northgate Street, close by St. Peter's Church, during the period 1270-1342. It will be noticed that they are all in a good state of preservation, and several of them have the seals attached.

The first deed is undated, but by means of the attestation clause we are able to fix the date as being at the end of the reign of King Henry III., or the beginning of that of King Edward I. It is written in courthand, and I here give the original Latin, with the translation.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Ric' de Knaresbur' civis Cestr' dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Alicie filie mee juniori quamdam scoppam meam quam emi de Galfrido de Alretun, habentem in longitudine decem pedes et

dimid' et in latitudine sex pedes palpatos: que quidem scoppa jacet propinquior hostio domus que fuit Hugonis Selimon versus ecclesiam beati Petri civitatis Cestr' Habendam et tenendam sibi et heredibus suis vel suis assignatis de me et de heredibus meis vel meis assignatis libere quiete plene et pacifice cum omnibus edificiis in ea positis et ponendis libertatibus et aysiamenis omnibus dicte scoppe spectantibus: Reddendo inde annuatim heredibus Hugonis Selimon unum par cirotecarum albarum vel unum denarium argenti in Nativitate Sancti Johannis Bapt' Et Ric'o filio meo et heredibus suis vel suis assignatis unum obolum argenti in eodem festo pro omnibus serviciis exaconibus et demandis. Ego vero ei predictus Ric'us et heredes mei predictam scoppam cum omnibus pertinentiis suis prefate Alicie filie mee et heredibus suis vel suis assignatis contra omnes homines et feminas in perpetuum Waretizabimus. Et ut hec mea donacio concessio et presentis carte mee confirmacio in pleno portmoto Cestr' facte perpetue firmitatis robur optineant huic scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus Joh' Arneway tunc maiore Cestr' Matth'o de Deresbur' et Will'o Cusin tunc Vic' Civitatis ejusdem Ric'o clerico, Symon' le Merc' Ric'o Apotec' Reginald Pinet' [Rinet?] Th(om)a de Knaresbur' Ric'o de Tudenam Will'o Marel Th[om)a clerico et multis aliis.

Know all men present and to come that I Richard de Knaresbur', citizen of Chester, have given granted and by this my present charter confirmed to Alice my younger Daughter, a certain shop (scoppam) of mine which I bought of Geoffrey de Alretun, containing in length 10 feet and a half, and in breadth 6 feet, the which shop lies near the Inn (hostio dom') which was Hugh Selimon's, towards the Church of the Blessed Peter in the city of Chester.

To have and to hold to her and her heirs or assigns of me and my heirs or assigns, freely and quietly yielding therefor yearly to the heirs of Hugh Selimon one pair of white gloves or one penny of silver in the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, and to Richard my son and his heirs or assigns, one halfpenny of silver in the same Feast, for all services and demands.

And I have confirmed this my present charter in the full Portmote of Chester.

These being witnesses, John Arneway Mayor of Chester, Matthew de Deresbury and William Cusin, Sheriffs of the same City, Richard the Clerk, Symon le Mercer, Richard Apotet', Reginald Pinet, Thomas de Knaresbur', Richard de Tudenam, William Marel, Thomas the Clerk, and many others.

(Not dated.)

This record proves that at this early date there was an Inn close by St. Peter's Church, which belonged to one Hugh "Selimon." This surname is said to be a corruption of the name Solomon, and that the well-known Cheshire cognomen of Salmon is derived from it.

The reservation of a pair of white gloves as rent is interesting. Glove-making was at the time one of the staple industries of Chester, and the neighbourhood of St. Peter's Church was its business centre. It will be observed that the deed was confirmed and registered in the City Court of "Portmote."

The celebrated John Arneway (who is sometimes described as Sir John Arneway) is mentioned as the first witness in his official capacity as Mayor of Chester. This is a somewhat early instance of the use of the name "Mayor." Arneway, it will be remembered, was one of the founders of the original "Chester Whitson Plays." The Chronicle of St. Werburgh has the following entry respecting him:—

"1278. In the same year died John Arneway, a citizen
"of Chester, who gave of his goods to God and St.
"Werburgh, and to the monks serving there, an endow-
"ment for the maintenance of two chaplains: as is
"made manifest by the epitaph upon his tomb before
"the altar of St. Leonard in the Southern part of the
"Church."

The tomb is, alas! no longer "manifest." Nay, can anyone point to the spot in our Cathedral Church where formerly stood the Altar of St. Leonard?

The names of Matthew de Daresbury and William Cusin are also given as witnesses in their offices as Sheriffs of Chester. From this fact we are able to fix the date of the deed, as they and John Arneway filled the chairs as Sheriffs and Mayor together for the period 1270-3.

The Seal is not quite perfect. It is of green wax, and bears a star with eight points, with a legend—"S' Ric' De——ur." [Sigillum Ricardi De——].

The second deed is likewise in Latin, and undated, but from the same reason as in the last deed we can fix the date *circa* 1275.

The following is the original Latin and the translation :—

Sciunt omnes presentes et futuri quod ego Johannes filius Hugonis Selimon civis Cestrie dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Will'o de Donecastel civis [*sic*] Cestrie totam terram meam in Nortgatestrete Civitatis Cestrie jacentem inter ecclesiam Sancti Petrie predictae civitatis ex una parte et terram que fuit Symonis le mercer ex altera in longitudine et latitudine. Habendam et tenendam dicto Will'o et heredibus suis vel suis assingnat' de me et de heredibus meis vel de meis assingnat' libere et quiete bene et pacifice cum omnibus libertatibus eysiamendis ubique dicte terre spectantibus.

Reddendo inde annuatim capitali dono quinque solidos argenti ad festum Sancti Johannis Baptiste et dicto Johanni et heredibus suis vel suis assignat' de me et de heredibus meis vel de meis assignat' xii^d. argenti ad dictum festum Sancti Johannis pro omni servicio et exactione quacumque. Pro hac autem mea donac'one et concessione dictus Will's dedit michi quatragenta [*sic*] solidos argenti pro manibus. Ego vero Johannes et heredes mei vel mei assignat' totam predictam terram cum pertinenciis sicut predictum est pro predicto servicio dicto Will'o et heredibus suis vel suis assignat' contra omnes

et feminas in perpetuum warentizabimus. Et in huius rei testimonium hoc presens scriptum sigilli mei impressione roboravi. Hiis testibus Johanne Arnewey tunc Maiore Cestr'. Philippo clerico et Ran' de Deresbur' tunc vic' Cestr' Ric' clerico, Alex' Hurel, Joh' Grund, Hugone de Melis, Ric' de Totinham, Rog' de Totinham, Godefr' clerico et aliis.

Be it known to all present and to come that I John son of Hugh Selimon, citizen of Chester, have given granted and by this my present charter confirmed to William de Donecastel, citizen of Chester, all my land in Nortgate strete in the City of Chester, lying between the Church of St. Peter in the aforesaid City, on the one part, and the land which belonged to Simon le Mercer on the other part, in length and breadth.

To have and to hold to the said William his heirs and assigns freely and quietly with all liberties and easements to the said land belonging.

Yielding therefor yearly to the chief lord 5s. of silver at the feast of St. John the Baptist and to the said John his heirs or assigns 12d. of silver at the said feast for all services.

Moreover for this my gift and grant the said William hath given to me by hand 40s. of silver.

With clause of warranty.

These being witnesses, John de Arnewey Mayor of Chester, Philip the Clerk and Randle de Deresbury Sheriffs of Chester, Richard the Clerk, Alexander Hurel, John Grund, Hugh de Melis, Richard de Totinham, Roger de Totinham, Godfrey the Clerk, and others. (Not dated.)

Endorsed on the back :—

The land of William de Doncastr in Northegate strete near the church of St. Peter, which he purchased of John son of Hugh Selimon.

The Seal is of green wax, and slightly broken. It bears four ears of wheat, shaped as a star, and around it the legend—"S' Joh': Fil': Hug——"

The third deed is also in Latin, and bears no date. But in like manner as before we can prove the date to be *circa* 1292.

All the witnesses to this deed are mentioned in my paper of 1888. The Seal is of yellow wax, is *oval* in shape, and bears an ear of wheat arranged in the form of a Fleur de Lys. The legend is very much broken and worn—"SIGILL' E VRC'"

The original Latin and translation are as follows:—

Universis Christi fidelibus hoc presens scriptum visuris vel audituris Johannes filius Hugonis Selimon de Cestr' salutem in domino sempiternam. Noveritis me dedisse concessisse et omnino de me et heredibus meis imperpetuum quiet' Clamasse Will'o de Dancastr' civi Cestr' duodecim denarios annui redditus quas [*sic*] de dicto Will'o annuatim percipere consuevi pro quadam terra in Northegatstrete Civitatis Cestr' jacente inter ecclesiam Sancti Petri ex parte una et terram que fuit Symonis le Mercer ex altera habendos et tenendos dicto Will'o et heredibus suis vel assignatis libere quiete bene et in pace in perpetuum. Ita quidem quod nec ego nec heredes mei aut aliquis per me vel pro me seu nomine meo quicquam juris aut clam' in dictis duodecim denariis annui redditus divertere exigere vel [*vendi*]care poterimus. In cuius rei testimonium huic presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus Hugon' de Brycheshull tunc maiore Cestr'. Hugon' Payn, Andr' de Stanlowe tunc vic' Cest', Ran' de Derisbur', Alex' Hurel, Rob' de Terven, Rogero de Tudynham, Ric'o Harald, Nicho' Payn, Rogero clerico et aliis.

To all the faithful people of Christ who shall see or hear this present writing John son of Hugh Selimon of Chester wishes everlasting salvation in the Lord.

Be it known that I have given granted and absolutely from me and my heirs for ever quitclaimed to William de Dancastr, citizen of Chester, 12d. annual rent, yearly received of the said William for certain land in Northegatstrete in the City of Chester, lying between the Church of St. Peter on the one part, and the land which belonged to Symon le Mercer on the other part. To have and to hold to the said William and his heirs or assigns freely and quietly for ever.

These being witnesses, Hugh de Brycheshull Mayor of Chester, Hugh Payn, Andrew de Stanlowe Sheriffs of Chester,

Randle de Derisbury, Alexander Hurel, Robert de Teruen, Roger de Tudynham, Richard Harald, Nicholas Payn, Roger the Clerk, and others. (Not dated.)

The fourth deed is likewise in Latin, and bears date "at Chester on the Thursday before the Feast of Saints Philip & James (viz.:—May 1) Anno Domini 1310."

The Seal is gone. As in the last deed, likewise in the subsequent one, all the witnesses are named in my former paper. It runs as follows:—

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Will'us de Donecastre concessi dedi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Ric'o de Wheteley unam placiam terre jacentem in Northegatestre [*sic*] in Civitate Cestr' inter terram meam in latitudine ex una parte et terram predicti Ric'i ex altera et continet [*sic*] in longitudine quindecim ulnas regales et in latitudine ad finem versus alteram stratam [*sic*] unum quarterium ulne et ad alium finem versus solarium lapideum predicti Ric'i duas ulnas Habendam et tenendam predicto Ric'o et heredibus suis vel suis assignatis de capital' dominis feodi libere quiete bene et in pace jure et hereditarie imperpetuum cum omnibus edificiis in dicta terra positis et ponendis libertatibus commoditatibus et aysiamenis predictae placie terre ubique spectantibus. Et ego vero predictus, Will'us et heredes mei totam predictam placiam terre cum omnibus suis pertinenciis predicto Ric'o et heredibus suis vel suis assignatis contra omnes gentes Warentizabimus acquietabimus et in perpetuum defendemus. In cuius rei testimonium huic presenti carte mee sigillum meum apposui.

Hiis testibus Hugone de Brichull tunc Maiore Cestr' Gilberto Donfoull tunc vic' Cestr' Alex'o Hurel, Ric'o Rossel, Ric'o Candelan, Will'mo fil' Petri de Brichull, Galfrido le Tavernere et aliis. Dat' Cestr' die Jovis ante festum Sanctorum Philippi et Jacobi Anno domini MCCC decimo.

Be it known to all present and to come that I William de Donecastre have given granted and by this my present charter confirmed to Richard de Wheteley one place of land lying in Northegatestre[et] in the City of Chester, between my land in breadth on the one part, and the land of the

aforesaid Richard on the other part, and containing in length 15 royal ells, and in breadth to the end towards the adjoining street (alt'am st'tam) one quarter of an ell, and to the other end towards the stone sun-dial (solarium lapideum) of the aforesaid Richard, 2 ells.

To have and to hold to the aforesaid Richard his heirs or assigns of the chief lords of the fee, freely and quietly for ever.

With clause of warranty.

These being witnesses, Hugh de Brichull Mayor of Chester, Gilbert Donfoull Sheriff of Chester, Alexander Hurel, Richard Rossel, Richard Candelan, William son of Peter de Brichull, Geoffrey le Tauernere, and others.

Given at Chester, on Thursday before the feast of SS Philip & James (May 1) A.D. 1310.

The fifth deed is in duplicate. It will be observed that the deed and counterpart are written on one piece of parchment; that certain letters are written in the space between the two deeds; and that then the two deeds have been divided by being cut in an indented line through the letters. This is the origin of the word by which all deeds to which there are two or more parties are to this day called an "Indenture." The deed is in Latin, and bears date, "at Chester on the Wednesday in the Feast of St. Peter ad Vincula (August 1) 18 Edward II." *i.e.*, A.D. 1324.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus hoc presens scriptum visuris vel auditoris Will' filius Will'i de Donecastr senioris et Alicie uxoris eius salutem in domino Noveritis quod vero Ric'us filius Joh'is de Stanlowe nos de quibusdam terris suis in Norgate strete jacent' inter terram Rogeri de Macclesfeld et terram Ricardi de Wheteleg' simul cum aliis terris et tenementis suis in Cestr' feoffaverit prout in carta sua nobis inde confecta de gratia sua speciali plenius continetur. Et nos predictas terras et tenementa cum pertin' eidem Ric'o concesserimus ad totam vitam suam tenendas prout in carta nostra eidem inde confecta plenius continetur. Quod nos prefati Will'us et Alicia eidem

Ric'o gratiam uberiores facere volentes ut tenemur et concedimus et per presentes obligamus nos et heredes nostros ad sufficientem sustentac'onem et reparac'onem et emendac'onem omnium edificiorum in predictis terris et ten' in Norgatestrete impositis et imponendis ad totam vitam ipsius Ric'i faciend' et impendend' quotiens opus fuerit et rationabiliter fuerimus premoniti. In cuius rei testimonium tam nos quam prefatus Ric'us hiis scriptis indentatis alternatim sigilla nostra apposimus. Dat' apud Cestr' die mercur' in festo Sancti Petri Advincla Anno regni Regis E[dwardi] fil' Regis E[dwardi] decimo octavo.

To all the faithful people of Christ who shall see or hear this present writing, William son of William de Donecastr senior and Alice his wife, send greeting in the Lord.

Whereas Richard son of John de Stanlowe enfeoffed us of certain lands in Norgatestrete lying between the land of Roger de Macclesfield and the land of Richard de Wheteleg', together with all other his lands and tenements in Chester, as in his charter to us of his special grace thereof made is more fully contained, and we have granted the aforesaid lands and tenements to the said Richard for his life as in our charter is fully contained. We the aforesaid William and Alice grant and bind ourselves and our heirs by these presents sufficiently to sustain and repair the said premises during the life of the said Richard.

Given at Chester on Wednesday in the feast of St. Peter Advincla (Aug. 1). 18. Edward II. (1324.)

(No names of witnesses.)

(The counterpart of this deed is preserved with it.)

The last deed is in Norman-French, and is, perhaps, from a Chester point of view, the most important of the set. It furnishes evidence that even in Edwardian times the Chester house was the merchant's place of business as well as his residence.

It consisted of three stories at least, viz.:—the cellar or crypt, with an entrance into the street; the shop above, set back from the line of the street, the space

between ultimately forming the passage or Row, to which access to the street was obtained; and the solar or living room above the shop. Perhaps above this again would be the gable or attic in which the merchant stored his light wares, in the same way as in the crypt he left his heavy goods.

This division of cellar, shop and solar, is the origin of the Rows, which form such an unique feature in the architecture of Chester.

The deed moreover proves that even at this early period the ownership of these three divisions of the house might be severed, as is the case to-day, and that the shop in the street or in the row need not necessarily belong to the same owner. As in the case of the two previous deeds, all the witnesses to this record are mentioned in my former paper.

The deed is dated at Chester, on the morrow of the Feast of St. Mary Magdalene, 15 Edward III., A.D. 1342.

The Seal is of yellow wax, and is in good preservation. In a Gothic ornamental circle it bears the arms of the Doncaster family, viz. :—a triple turreted tower, and around it is the legend, "S' Felicia de Doncaster."

The following is the original Norman-French, with the translation :—

Ceste endenture fait entre Felice de Donecastr' dune part et William le fitz William de Doncastr' dautre part Tesmoigne qe come mesme cely William tient un Celer en la Cite de Cestre' en Northgatestrete et la dite Felice tient la Seude proscheynement paramount: et le dite William un Soler paramount la dite Seude est acorde entre les parties qe le dite William de son frank tenement ieiniant la dite seude de vers le North ad quante per cestes endentures et done a la dite Felice deux aulnus [*sic*] et demy aulne un quarter et demy quarter et la quatre partie de un quarter en longure et un demy aulne en

laoure de mesme cele frank tenement ieinyaunt a la dite Seude en eschaunges pour la partie et lestat qe la dite Felice ad et clayme davoit en le dite celer a de south la dite seude et en le soler paramount la dite seude. Cestes eschaunges adurer entre les partyes et lour herys a toutz jours. En tesmoignace de qele chose a la partie de ceste endenture demaunt de vers le dite William la dite Felice ad mys sonn seal. Et a la partie demaunt vers la dite Felice le dite William ad mys sonn seal pro iceux tesmoignes. Richard de Capenhurst a dounk maire de Cestre: Hug' de Ruyecroft et Madok de Capenhurst viscountes de la dite ville: John Blound Hug' le Mercer, Thomas de Higreve, Warin Blound et aultres. Done a Cestre le Dymaigne en la feste de Seinte Marie Magdeleyne, lan du regne le Roi Edward tierce puy la conqueste quinzime.

This Indenture made between Felicia de Donecastr on the one part, and William the son of William de Donecastr on the other part.

Witnesseth that whereas the said William holds a cellar in the City of Chester, in Northgatestrete, and the said Felicia holds the shop next above, and the said William the room (*soler*) above the said shop. It is agreed between the said parties and the said William gives to the said Felicia, towards the north of the said shop, 2 ells and half an ell, quarter and half a quarter and the fourth part of a quarter in length, and half an ell in breadth, in exchange for that part which the said Felicia claims in the said cellar towards the south of the said shop and in the room above.

These being witnesses, Richard de Capenhurst Mayor of Chester, Hugh de Ruyecroft and Madok de Capenhurst Sheriffs of the said town (ville), John Blound, Hugh le Mercer, Thomas de Higreue, Warin Blound, and others.

Given at Chester on the morrow of the feast of St. Mary Magdalene, 15 Edward III.

I hope at a future time to give more of these deeds for insertion in our Journal.



Two Chester Madrigal Writers, Thomas Bateson and Francis Pilkington

BY JOSEPH C. BRIDGE, M.A., MUS. DOC.

THOMAS BATESON became Organist, or, to use his official title, "Master of the Choristers" of Chester Cathedral about the year 1600, having succeeded Robert Stevenson who had held the appointment since 1569. Rimbault, in Grove's Dictionary, gives the date of Bateson's appointment as 1599; and Mr. Thomas Hughes, in the list he compiled from the Cathedral Treasurer's Accounts, says 1602. On inspecting these accounts, I find Bateson's name first occurs in 1602, but as the accounts are incomplete for some years previously, I think it quite possible that the date given in Grove is correct.

In going over the Cathedral Treasurer's books it is interesting and pleasing to note how the chorister boy often develops into a lay clerk or conduct, and finally organist or minor canon. This is the case with most of the old organists. Bateson, however, was a stranger. Where he came from, and his age, are unknown; but, judging from the preface to his first work, he was a young man. In 1604 he produced—

"The first set of English Madrigales to 3, 4, 5 and 6 voices. Newly composed by Thomas Bateson, practitioner in the Art

of Musicke, and Organist of the Cathedral Church of Christ in the Citie of Chester, 1604. 4to. *In London, Printed by Thomas Este.*"

CONTENTS.

Songs to 3 Voices—

1. Beautie is a lovely sweet
2. Love would discharge the dutie
3. The Nightingale so soone as Aprille
4. Aye me, my Mistresse scorns my love
5. Come, follow me faire nymphes
6. Your shining eyes and golden hair

Songs to 4 Voices—

7. Whither so fast, see how the kindly flowres
8. Dame Venus hence to Paphos goe
9. Down from above falls Jove
10. Adué, sweet love, adue
11. If love be blinde
12. Phillis farewell

Songs to 5 Voices—

13. Those sweet delightful lillies
14. And must I needs depart then ?
15. Sweet Gemma when I first beheld (1st part)
16. Yet stay away, be chained to my hart (2nd part)
17. Strange were the life that every man
18. Alas ! where is my love
19. O fly not love, O fly not me
20. Who prostrate lyes at women's feet
21. Sister, awake, close not your eyes
22. Harke ! heare you not heavenly harmony ? (*Oriana's farewell*)

Songs to 6 Voices—

23. Deare if you wish my dying
24. Faire Hebe, when dame Flora meets
25. Phyllis farewell, I may no longer live
26. Thirsio, on his faire Phyllis
27. Merely my love and I
28. Musick some thinks no Musick is

There were six parts—cantus, altus, tenor, medius, sextus, and bassus, dedicated to his "honourable and most respected good friend Sir William Norres, Knight of the most honourable Order of the Bath."

In the preface he compares his compositions to "young birds feared out of the nest before they be well feathered," and hopes "they will be so shrouded in the leaves of his patron's good liking," so that "neither any ravenous kite nor crafty fowler, any open mouthed momus or more sly detractor, may devour or harm them that cannot succour or shift for themselves."

At the back of the dedication to Sir William Norris is a madrigal "When Oriana walkt to take the ayre," and the following note:—"This song was sent too late, and should have been printed in the set of Orianas; but being a work of this author, I have placed it before the set of his songs." This refers to a splendid book of madrigals in honour of Queen Elizabeth, published in 1601, entitled "The Triumphs of Oriana," and shows that Bateson was deemed worthy to join the other celebrated English musicians who contributed to that work. The words of this madrigal are as follows, and were considered by Mr. Thomas Oliphant, the well-known musical antiquary, as "the best poetry in the set":—

"When Oriana walked to take the air,
The world did strive to entertain the fair.
By Flora fair the sweetest flowers were strown
Along the way for her to tread upon.
The trees did blossom, silver rivers ran,
The wind did gently play upon her fan.
And then to delight her grace's ear
The woods a temple seem'd, the birds a choir.
Then sang the nymphs and shepherds of Diana,
Long live fair Oriana."

Bateson's volume also contains a madrigal called "Oriana's Farewell," evidently written after the death of Queen Elizabeth. The whole book was reprinted in score some fifty years ago by the Musical Antiquarian Society of London.

In 1609-10 Bateson left Chester for Ireland, and in 1618 he produced—

“The Second Set of Madrigals to 3, 4, 5, and 6 parts. A part for Viols and Voyces. Newly Composed by Thomas Bateson, Bachelor of Musicke, Organist and Master of the Children of the Cathedrall Church of the blessed Trinitie, Dublin, in the Realme of Ireland. 4to. *London: Printed by Thomas Snodham for Matthew Lownes and John Browne, 1618, cum Privilegio.*”

Six parts: cantus, altus, tenor, quintus, sextus, and bassus. Dedicated—

“To the Right Honourable Arthure Lord Chichester, Baron of Belfast, Lord High Treasurer of Ireland, and one of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Councill of that Kingdome.”

The arms of Lord Chichester are on the title page, and the following are the contents of the book:—

Songs of 3 Voyces—

1. Love is the fire that burnes me
2. My Mistress after service due
3. One Woman scarce of twenty
4. If I seeke to enjoy
5. Pleasure is a wanton thing
6. Sweete, those trammels of your haire

Songs of 4 Voyces—

7. Live not poore bloome
8. The Nightingale in silent night
9. Oh, what is she? (first part)
10. See, see forth her eyes (second part)
11. When to the gloomy woods
12. If floods of teares

Songs of 5 Voyces—

13. Have I found her?¹
14. Downe the hills
15. Camella faire, tript
16. Sadness sit downe
17. Life of my life
18. I heard a noise
19. With bitter sighes

¹ No. 13 “Have I found her?” had previously been set by Pilkington in 1612.

20. Why doe I dying live ?
21. In depth of greife
22. All the day I wast in weeping (1st part)
23. Why doest thou flye ? (2nd part)
24. Come sorrow

Songs of 6 Voyces—

25. Cupid in a bed of Roses (1st part)
26. Cytherea smiling said (2nd part)
27. Her haire, the net of goulden wire
28. Fond love is blinde (1st part)
29. Ah Cupid ! grant that I (2nd part)
30. She with a cruell frowne

This is now a rare work, and very few perfect copies are extant. As the title page shows, Bateson had taken the degree of Bachelor of Music in Dublin. This was in 1612, and seems to have been the first musical degree conferred by the University.

Of Bateson's life and the date of his death nothing is known; but his madrigals alone have assured for him a high place among the English Composers of the Elizabethan era. Some specimens of his church music are included in "Anthems by Composers of the Madrigalian Era," published by the Musical Antiquarian Society.

FRANCIS PILKINGTON was admitted a Bachelor of Music at Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1595. No residence was then, or is now, required for a musical degree, and he would probably obtain the degree by proving that he had studied music for some years, and by paying a fee; or he may have been called upon to write some musical composition. As he did not reside, no information concerning him is obtainable from the University records.

He probably belonged to the great Lancashire family of Pilkington (though his parentage cannot be traced), for

he himself states that his brother and father "followed" the Earl of Derby—*i.e.*, were in his employment; and Francis Pilkington most probably came to Chester through the same influential patron.

He appears for the first time on the Cathedral Treasurer's books as a Singing-man or Conduct—or, as Pilkington styles himself, a "Chaunter"—at Midsummer, 1602.

Bateson was already at Chester, and must have been preparing his first book for publication, which came out in 1604. This was speedily followed, perhaps in friendly emulation, by Pilkington's first compositions.

"The First Booke of Songs or Ayres of 4 parts; with Tableture for the Lute or Orpherion, with the Violl de Gamba; newly composed by F. Pilkington, Bachelor of Musicke, and Lutenist: and one of the Cathedrall Church of Christ, in the Citie of Chester. Folio. *London, Printed by I. Este, dwelling in Aldersgate-streete, and are ther to be sould, 1605.*"

It is dedicated "To the Right Honourable William Earl of Darby, Lord Stanley, Lord Strange of Knocking, and of the Isle of Man, and Knight of The Most Noble Order of the Garter," and in the preface Pilkington says: "I must confess my selfe many waies obliged to your Lordship's familie, not onely, for that my Father and brother received many Graces of your Honour's noble father whom they followed, but that myself had the like of your most honourable Brother even from the first notice he chanced to take of me."

THE TABLE.

1. How peep, boe peep
2. My choise is made
3. Can she disdaine?
4. Alas! faire face
5. Whether so fast?
6. Rest Sweet Nimphes
7. Aye mee, she frownes

8. Now let her change
9. Underneath a Cypris shade
10. Sound wofull plaints¹
11. You that pine in long desire
12. Looke, Mistress, mine
13. Clime, O Hart!²
14. Thanks, gentle moone
15. I sigh as sure to weare the fruit
16. Down a down
17. Diapheina
18. Beauty sate bathing
19. Musicke, dear solace
20. With fragrant flowers
21. Come all you that draw³
22. A Pavin for the Lute and Bass Violl

There is a copy of the work in the British Museum. Nos. 1, 7, and 15 have been reprinted in score, with some alterations of the words by Mr. Thomas Oliphant; and No. 6 by John Hullah.

When Bateson left Pilkington was still a Conduct, but shortly afterwards, in 1612, he was made a Minor Canon, and in 1613 he issued his second work.

"The First Set of Madrigals and Pastorals of 3, 4, and 5 parts. Newly composed by Francis Pilkington, Batchelor of Musicke, and Lutenist, and one of the Cathedrall Church of Christ and blessed Mary the Virgin, in Chester. 4to. London, Printed for M.L., J.B., and T.S., the assignees of William Barley, 1613."

In five parts, dedicated "To the Right Worshipfull Sir Thomas Smith, of Hough, in the County of Chester." Pilkington says, "It is unworthy, yet in regard of the many and manifold favours which I have received at your hands, and your exquisite skill both in theorique and practique of that excellent art, I doe presume to

¹ No. 10 is stated to be "for his unfortunate friend William Harwood."

² No. 13 is inscribed "to his loving friend M. Holder, Master of Arts."

³ No. 21 is "An Elegie in remembrance of his worshipful friend Thomas Leighton, Esquire."

tend it to your patronage and protection." The preface is signed—"From my own mansion in the Monastery, Chester, the 25th day of September, 1612, your worship's in all observancy, Francis Pilkington." Seeing that he was now a Minor Canon, there is perhaps a legitimate touch of pride in writing from "his own mansion in the Monastery."

There is a fine copy in the British Museum, which is interesting as having formerly belonged to Conyers Darcy, the Gunpowder Plot conspirator. His name, in bold autograph, is on the title page. The following is a list of the contents :

Of 3 Voyces—

1. See where my love
2. I follow loe the footing
3. Poure forth mine eyes
4. Stay Nimph, O stay
5. Dorus, a silly shepheard
6. Is this thy doome?

Of 4 Voyces—

7. Amintos with his Phillis faire
8. Heere rest my thoughts
9. Why should I grieve?
10. The messenger of the delightfull spring
11. Have I found her? Oh, rich finding!
12. What though her frownes
13. Love is a secret feeding fire
14. Why doe I fret?
15. All in a cave

Of 5 Voyces.

16. Sing we, dance we
17. Under the tops of Helicon
18. Sweet Phillida, my flockes
19. My heart is dead
20. No, no, it will not be
21. When Oriana walkt to take the ayre
22. Now I see thou floutest me

The words of No. 11, "Have I found her?" were afterwards set by Bateson, and are perhaps worth quoting, as they were undoubtedly popular.

"Have I found her? O rich finding!
 Goddess like for to behold
 Her fair tresses seemly binding
 In a chain of pearl and gold.
 Chain me, chain me, O most fair,
 Chain me to thee with that hair."

On the other hand, No. 21, "When Oriana walkt to take the ayre," is a setting of the same words as Bateson's Madrigal for the "Triumphs of Oriana;" the only difference being in the concluding lines where the couplet—

"Thus sang the Nymphs and Shepherds of Diana:
 In Heaven lives fair Oriana."

shows that Pilkington had written this after the death of Elizabeth.

In 1614 appeared "The Teares or Lamentacions of a Sorrowfull Soule," compiled by "Sir William Leighton, Knight, one of His Majesties' Honourable Band of Gentleman Pensioners." To this work Pilkington contributed a "song" or anthem in four parts, "Hidden O Lorde"; and another in five parts, "High, Mighty God." Probably Sir William Leighton was a relative of the Thomas Leighton whom Pilkington had commemorated in an elegy in his first work, 1605.

And now we come to Pilkington's last work:—

"The Second set of Madrigals and Pastorals of 3, 4, 5, and 6 parts; apt for Violls and Voyces: newly composed by Francis Pilkington, Batchelar of Musicke, and Lutenist, and Chaunter of the Cathedrall Church of Christ and blessed Mary the Virgin, in Chester. 4to. *London: Printed by Thomas Snodham*¹ for M. L. and A. B., 1624."

The preface is so quaint that it is worth quoting in entirety.

"To the Right Worshipfull and worthy of much honour Sir Peter Leigh of Lyme, Knight.

¹ Este, for some reason unknown, has changed his name to Snodham.

"Of him that shall demand of me, why I presume to send this print of my (now aged) *muse* to seeke patronage under your worth, my answer shall be this: ask the little sparks why they dare flie upwards to the glorious Sunne, or the small Riverets and Brookes, why they with a hastie boldnesse strive to be engulphed into the bosom of the vaste ocean.

"*Nature* herself hath taught all her workers to tend into their proper place; and the *Subjects of Vertue* can never offer their service, nor her *Priests* bring their Sacrifice, but where their Soveraigne *Queen* erects a temple.

"Sir: Your noble disposition invites all eyes to behold the generous respect you beare to all the poor travellers, that labour in the tedious journey which leads to *Merit* and *Perfection*; and if *I*, the meanest and unablest of these (encouraged by all mens generall Admiration of your noble Courtesies, and imboldened by your particular acceptation of such former services, as my good hap hath beene to performe in some of your imployments) may now procure the Reflection of the least beame of your faire *Aspect*, upon this my little *Bundle of Rushes*, that I carry towards the strewing of the flore of that *Amiable Temple*, when that *Great Goddess* hath her *Chaire*, the *Muses* sit in the *Quier*, and the *Noise* is nothing but *Melodie* and *Harmonious Sweetnesse*: It will infinitely refresh my wearie steppes: and (happily) yet enlive my fainting spirits, that I may lagge on, yet one journey more, (if not in the middest) yet in the Rereward of those many expert and able servants of this Soveraigne *Queen* to doe her and you some further service. To which I devote the Remainder of my poor endeavours, and myselfe to be

ever your worships at command,

FRANCIS PILKINGTON."

CONTENTS.

Of 3 *Voyces*—

1. Sov'raigne of my delight
2. Yond hill-tops Phœbus kist
3. Wake sleeping Thirsis
4. Stay hart, runne not so fast
5. Ye bubling springs
6. Your fond preferments

Of 4 Voyces—

7. Manalcas in an evening walking
8. Coy Daphne fled from Phœbus (first part)
9. Chaste Daphne fled from Phœbus (second part)
10. If shee neglect me
11. Palemon and his Sylvia
12. Yon gentle Nymphs

Of 5 Voyces—

13. Chaste Syrinx fled
14. Come shepherds weeds
15. Crowned with flowers
16. Weep sad Urania
17. O gracious God
18. Goe you skipping
19. Care for thy Soule
20. Drowne not with tears

Of 6 Voyces—

21. Dear Shepheardesse (first part)
22. Cruel Pabrilla (second part)
23. A Fancie for the Violls
24. O softly singing lute
25. O praise the Lord
26. Surcease you youthfull Shepheardesses
27. A Pavan by the Earl of Darbie (for the Orpherion)

As the collection is “apt for violls and voyces,” that is, capable of being played or sung, it seems as if Pilkington had been practising or taking more interest in instrumental music; and No. 23 is a “Fancie for the Violls” only. In No. 27 we see the “Earl of Darbie” as a composer:—

“A Pavin made for the Orpharion, by the Right Honorable William, Earle of Darbie, and by him consented to be in my Bookes placed.”

The work also contains the following laudatory poems, which are interesting as showing that Pilkington was held in high estimation as a composer:—

“To my approved Friend, Master Francis Pilkington, Bachelor of Musicke.

A SONNET.

Those great atchievements our Heroicke Spirits
 Have done in England's old or later victories,
 Shall we attribute wholly to the merrits
 Of our Brave Leaders? And faire Industries
 Which their *not*-named followers have exprest
 Lie hid? And must the matchlesse excellencies
 Of Bird, Bull, Douland, Morley, and the rest
 Of our rare artists (who now dim the lights
 Of other lands) be only in Request?
 Thy selfe (and others) loosing your due Rights
 To high Desert? Nay make it (yet) more plaine
 That thou cans't hit the ayres of every vaine.
 Their praise was their Reward, and so 'tis thine:
 The Pleasure of thy paines all mens and mine.

WILLIAM WEBBE."

"To Master Francis Pilkington, Batchelar of Musicke:—

Art's praise, and skill's high pitch, are not so tyed
 To Bankes of Po, or silver Thames (we see)
 But Jove's faire bird may haunt some streams beside,
 And chaunt sweet layes on brinkes of Antique Dee.
 Old Chester is not so with Eld ore-laine,
 That where Contention is for praise, shee then
 Should not her old-borne title still maintain,
 And put in for her claime to chiefe of men.
 Witnesse more Instances hereof, then cast
 Into few lines can be (some larger Quill
 Shall labour that) witnesse thy first and last
 Rare-fram'de Composures, and this witnesse will
 Thy choice for Patron: one for glorious fame,
 Chief in our clyme, Grace to thy worke, Thy name.
 Thine and the Muses friends of Chester,

HENRY HARPUR." ²

In the transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, Vol. V., p. 88, in a paper by Thomas Heywood, Esq., on a portion of the Harleian MSS., these commendatory verses are referred to and partly printed, and the statement made that "the Choir

¹ Webbe's statement that "Byrd, Bull, Douland, etc.," could "dim the lights of other lands" was certainly a bold one, but time has shown that it was quite correct.

² Henry Harpur was formerly a Chorister, 1607-8.

of Chester Cathedral had, at the close of the 16th century, acquired great celebrity under the direction of Pilkington." This statement, however, cannot be correct, as Pilkington did not belong to the choir, as we have seen, until 1602. Although he hoped to "lagge on one journey more" Pilkington never, so far as we know, published anything further. He became Precentor in 1623, and held this office until his death in 1638.¹

As he speaks of his "now aged muse" in 1624, it is probable that Pilkington came to Chester when fairly old, and he seems to have been married, and to have had a large family, judging from the Treasurer's books which mention the following members of the family:—

ZACHARIAS (?) PILKINGTON.—A chorister for several years, ending 1612.

THOMAS PILKINGTON.—Chorister from 1612 to 1618. In 1625 he appears again as 6th Conduct. In 1627 we find him and Francis still filling their respective positions, and another

THOMAS PILKINGTON² as Third Chorister; so that three generations of the family were probably serving the Cathedral at one and the same time.

Lastly we find that at his death in 1638 Francis Pilkington's place as Minor Canon was filled by a

JOHN PILKINGTON, who had been appointed a Conduct the previous year.

¹ I have searched the old Cathedral (S. Oswald's) register of burials, but cannot find any entry relating to Pilkington.

² It seems almost certain that this was the Thomas Pilkington mentioned by Anthony A'Wood in his "Fasti Oxonienses," vol. i., p. 269. He refers to "Francis Pilkington, of Lincoln College, Bachelor of Music," and says:—"Some of his compositions I have seen, and I think some are extant. He was father to, or at least near of kin, to Thomas Pilkington, one of the musicians belonging sometimes to Queen Henrietta Maria; who, being a most excellent artist, his memory was celebrated by many persons, particularly by Sir Aston Cockain, Baronet, who hath written [in his Choice Poems of several sorts, etc., London, 1658] his funeral elegy and his epitaph. The said Thomas Pilkington died at Wolverhampton, in Staffordshire, aged 35, and was buried there, in the times of the rebellion or usurpation."

While Bateson's music is fairly well-known to Musical Authorities and Antiquaries, Pilkington's has been strangely neglected. It is to be hoped that means may be taken before long to reprint some of it.

Chester Cathedral may be proud of having had two such excellent writers on its staff; and it is pleasant to think that these two old friends and composers of 300 years ago, still live together in their music, side by side.





Souling Songs

BY J. C. BRIDGE. M.A., MUS. DOC.

THE Cheshire custom of "Souling" is undoubtedly a relic of pre-Reformation times, derived from the practice of asking alms to pay for masses for the souls in Purgatory.

It is not surprising to find that the old Cheshire tune sung by "Souling" parties is founded on ecclesiastical use. It may have been the original pre-Reformation "Souling Song," or it may be merely a parody on the Church music of the period. A glance at Merbecke's Church Music will show anyone how close the resemblance is. The following is the tune and the words of the first verse:—

Soul - ing night has come at last, And we are soul - ing
here; And all that we are soul - ing for, Is
ap - ples and good cheer. Soul, soul for an
ap - ple or two, If you've no ap - ples, pears will do;
If you've no pears a good jug of beer Will
last us all till this time next year.

I have taken this tune down myself several times in the last twenty years. The first line never varies; but

the first four bars of the "refrain," in six-four time, is sometimes repeated, in order to allow of extra rhymes, and is sometimes sung G F sharp, and sometimes G E; but generally G F natural as here printed. The "Souling Song" given in "English County Songs," by Mr. Fuller-Maitland, is the first bar of this "refrain."

As time went on, this old ecclesiastical style of tune was probably considered dull, and another "Souling Song" occurs with words of a totally different metre, and with a tune decidedly lively and pretty. It was taken down for me in a village a few miles from Chester, and also in South Lancashire.

We are one, two, three heart-y lads, and we're
all of one mind, We have come here a-soul-ing, good
na-ture to find; We have come here a-soul-ing as
it doth ap-pear, And it's all that we are
soul-ing for is your ale and strong beer.

Although these words (with other verses) are often quoted as the "Souling Song," I do not believe that the words or tune belonged to "Souling" originally, but they were, I think, adapted from a "Peace," or "Pace-egging" song¹ (another old Cheshire custom which deserves more attention than it has hitherto received).

"Souling" seems confined to Cheshire, Shropshire, and a portion of Lancashire and Staffordshire. I should be glad to receive authoritative evidence of its existence in other counties.

¹ Vide "Pace-egging" song in "English County Songs," and also Barrett's "English Folk-Songs."



Roman Altar discovered in 1896

BY F. HAVERFIELD, M.A., F.S.A.



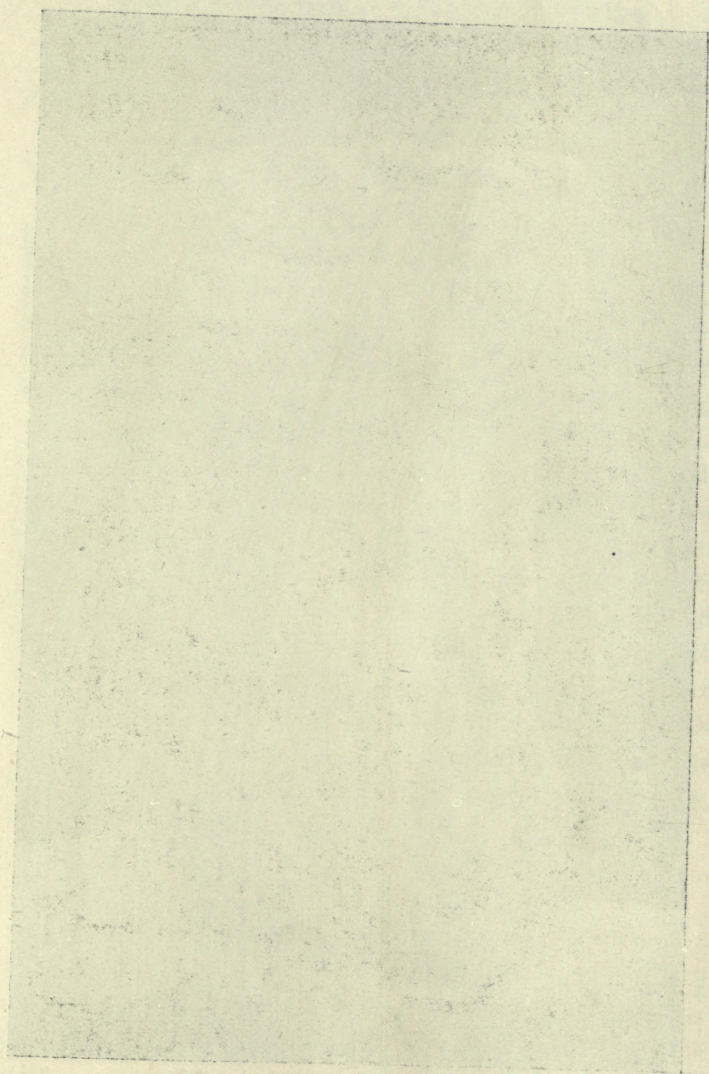
THE latest addition to the collection of Roman inscriptions in the Grosvenor Museum is a red sandstone altar, 30 inches in height and 13 inches in width, which, as Mr. Frederick Potts kindly tells me, was found last autumn in digging a cellar for a new building in St. Werburgh Street, Chester, about halfway from the Cathedral to East-gate Street. The altar lay about 8 feet below the surface of the street in "made" ground, and upon its face; that is, it was not *in situ*. Indeed, the presence of some hard mortar adhering to it, suggests that it had at some time been used as building material, and afterwards thrown away. It came into the possession of Mr. Potts, who has lent it to our Society, and it is now in the Grosvenor Museum. I was able to examine it there in January, 1897. The inscription now legible, in letters $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, is—

GENIC
> ♡

that is, *genio centuriae*, followed by a leaf-stop; and I think that this is all that was ever written on the stone. On the spectator's left-hand side is carved a "patera," with a more ornamented handle than is usual; on the right-hand side is a jug. On the back is a sort of zigzag ornamentation.



Roman Altar found in Chester in 1896.
(Photographed by Mr. R. NEWSTEAD, F.E.S.)



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The Romans were accustomed to worship the *genius* of almost every person and thing and place. "*Genium*," says a late Roman writer, "*dicebant antiqui naturalem deum uniuscuiusque loci vel rei aut hominis.*" The "*Genius Publicus*" and the "*Genius Augusti*" were worshipped on fixed days in the Roman calendar, and, with slight modifications in title, were commemorated on countless coins and inscriptions. This worship of the *genius* formed part of the official religion of the Roman army; that is, of the religion which was recognised officially inside the camp, and which centred round the shrine in which the legionary eagle was kept. Hence we find inscriptions, on stone or on coins, to the genius of the army, or of the legion, the auxiliary cohort or *ala*. Similarly we meet with the genius of the camp, or of the *prætorium*, or even in one case the genius of the granary, where the provisions, &c., were stored. The most important division of the legion, for purposes of organization, was the century, and, accordingly, beside the genius of the legion we find the genius of the century.¹ This genius appears on our new Chester stone, and on one, perhaps on two, stones previously in the Grosvenor Museum. A finely preserved altar, dug up in 1861 in Eastgate Street, about 100 yards from the new find, is inscribed "*Genio sancto centuriæ Aelius Claudian(us) opt(io) v. s.*" Another, of more doubtful contents, is perhaps inscribed "*Genio > A. Verin. Quintilianus*"; that is, "to the Genius of the Century of Aurelius Verinus, erected by Julius Quintilianus." Such altars were erected by the officers of the century; that is, by the standard-bearers, the *optiones*, and the *tesserarii*, but not by the centurions, who were, in a sense, officers of the whole legion. The place of erection

¹ Domaszewski, *die Religion des römischen Heeres*, p. 103.

was probably some shrine (*aedicula*) in the buildings set apart for the century in question.

It may be convenient to add a word about the second of the two inscriptions just mentioned. This, a small sandstone altar found in 1849, in Boughton—that is, outside the Roman walls of Deva—has usually been considered as a dedication *Genio Averni*. This, however, is an extraordinary dedication, despite the old Roman proverb, “*nullus locus sine genio*”; and it could be excused only by the presence at Boughton of some peculiarly deadly or dreadful chasm or cavern, which might be called an Avernus. Of such a place there is no vestige; and, even if such had existed, I doubt if it would have been commemorated by a dedication *Genio Averni*. It is more probable that the lettering has been misunderstood. The second line, supposed to be *Averni*, is very faint. Before the “A” there is a mark which has been taken by two or three scholars as a centurial mark, while the whole line appears to be—

Λ V R Λ

This could be read *Averni*, but it could also be read *Averin*, which, as Prof. Hübner has observed in a letter to me, makes *A. Verin(i)*. As, however, the centurial mark is uncertain, this reading must not be taken as certain.¹

¹ See this *Journal* iii. 125 (where Prof. Hübner reads *Aurini*, which is impossible), and my *Roman Inscriptions* ii. p. 34. The inscription has been published in the *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* vii. 165, and in the late Mr. W. T. Watkin's *Roman Cheshire*, p. 177. Mr. Watkin's theories are, I am afraid, somewhat fanciful.



Owain Glyndwr and his Times¹

BY PROFESSOR T. F. TOUT, M.A.

BETWEEN the time when the last Llewelyn succumbed to the arms of the greatest of the Edwards and the time when Wales gave England a King in Henry Tudor, there is no Welshman whose name stands out in the pages of British History like that of Owain Glyndwr. What manner of man he was, what motives influenced him, why Welshmen followed him, why Englishmen feared him, what sort of work he did for Wales, what kind of effect his career had on the permanent destinies of his father-land, can never be matters of mere archæological interest to Welshmen. He was the one great personality that later mediæval Wales produced. He was the soul of the one great effort made by the Cymry to win back their ancient

¹ This Paper is based upon a paper that had been read before the English and Welsh Debating Societies of St. David's College, Lampeter, at the last Meeting of the Session, 1888-9. It had previously been read before the Cardiff Cambrian Society on 7th Dec., 1888. It is an attempt to bring out in a popular form some of the leading results of an investigation of Owain's career made by the writer when preparing the article on Owen Glendower for the *Dictionary of National Biography* (Vol. XXI.) It has now been freely revised and added to. The writer has sought to bring out the special Cheshire aspects of his subject, and has added to the more general part some additional facts that have been more recently brought to light. Mr. J. H. Wylie's exhaustive and admirable *History of Henry IV.* has added very considerably to our knowledge of Glyndwr's career, and the writer wishes to acknowledge his special obligations to it.

freedom. He stamped his mark on English history in a way that never can be effaced. He lived in the most interesting and most important period of the late mediæval history of his country. Then alone were the doings of Welshmen matters of concern for all Europe. Then alone did the royal chronicler of St. Denis or the clerkly annalists of distant churches find room to notice the battles and struggles of a small and remote land. He led a great movement. For fifteen years he held his own against the chivalry and yeomanry of England, against the tried warlike skill of King Henry, and against the consummate genius of the conqueror of Agincourt. If he failed at last, it was no ignominious failure. He had won for his country the respect of her enemies. He had won for himself a name which will always make the heart of a true Welshman beat more quickly. Nor has Owain's career a smaller interest to Cheshiremen. The close connection of the Principality with the County Palatine, their common lord the King, the common justice and judicial system that commonly bound them together, do something to account for this. But the special connection of Owain and Cheshire we shall see later on when we remember that Owain was not only a partisan of Welsh liberty, but a strong upholder of Richard II.; and Richard II. was, of all the King-Earls of Cheshire, the one most closely connected with the fortunes of the Palatinate. Since his youth Richard had ruled Wales and Cheshire as direct lord, and Welshmen and Cheshiremen united in their enthusiasm for their Feudal Chieftain.

There is no part of English history which is harder to realise than the fifteenth century. There are few periods of fifteenth century history for which the authorities are less satisfactory than that of the great

Welsh revolt. There are, of course, a good many contemporary chroniclers, but they wrote at a distance from the events, their narratives are meagre, inaccurate, and partial. They only represent the English side. The legal records are more copious and trustworthy, but they are only dry bones. Here and there contemporary letters of governors of castles and commanders of fortresses shed a gleam of precious light. There are hardly any Welsh *historical* authorities, no chroniclers, no documents, and hardly any records. The Welsh literary sources are more abundant. But the songs of Owain's bards have the vagueness and exaggerations of poetry, though here and there they help us to a vivid detail or a keen insight into manners or opinions; yet we cannot make so much use of them as might be wished, for the great mass of Welsh poetry is either lying in manuscript in remote libraries, or has been published carelessly and uncritically in incomplete editions. There is also a good deal of tradition, legend, romance, such as always gathers round a popular hero in the next generation, and which may possibly contain here and there the germ of truth. But we have no means of testing such statements; we have no way of finding out where the germ of truth precisely lies. We shall do best, therefore, to neglect altogether all legends and so-called traditions, and confine ourselves, almost as a lawyer might do, to strictly contemporary and first-hand authorities. This may make our sketch a little fainter, but we can be sure that however much later workers may fill in our outlines, they will not have anything to rub out.

Before entering upon Owain's personal history, I must devote a few words to the state of Wales at the time he began his career. First of all we must realize that

the district then called Wales—a district a good deal wider than the present twelve counties of Wales—was divided into two great divisions: the *Principality* and the *March of Wales*.¹ The Principality was under the direct rule of the Prince of Wales, the eldest son of the English King, who was assisted by a Council of Government. In those days “Prince of Wales” was not as it is now, a mere title, but expressed the fact that the immediate government of the Principality was in the hands of the King’s son, who there learnt his political experience, and who drew from thence his main revenue. All the Principality was *shire-ground*, and included the five counties of Anglesey, Carnarvon, Merioneth, Cardigan, and Carmarthen, most of which, especially Cardigan-shire and Carmarthenshire, were a good deal smaller than the present counties. Under the Prince were the *Justices of North and South Wales*, who held their courts at Carnarvon and Carmarthen. These officers and the Constables of the castles that Edward I. had planted at the time of the Conquest, were generally great English noblemen. But the local administration was mostly in Welsh hands. The sheriffs were practically always gentlemen of their own counties, and native Welshmen. The deputies who did most of the work for the absentee governors, justices, and constables, were generally Welshmen too. The country was not exactly quiet—no part of Britain was quiet in the 14th and 15th centuries, and Wales least of all so;—but its disorders never rose above the level of a riot or a faction fight or a petty private war between neighbours

¹ A reference to maps 18 and 20 (by the present writer and Mr. Tait) in Poole’s *Historical Atlas of Modern Europe* (Clarendon Press), will bring out more clearly the geographical divisions of Wales and the March. More topographical details can be found in a paper of the present writer on the *Welsh Shires* in *Y Cymmrodor*, Vol. IX., Part II.

and rivals. The government was also poor and careless, so that the great castles were gradually tumbling into decay, and were very scantily garrisoned and inadequately provisioned and equipped. The majority of the little garrisons were almost always Welsh, for there was little jealousy between the two races, and the Welsh of those days made excellent soldiers. They were not indeed often employed as the heavily armoured men-at-arms, who in those days formed the main line of battle, but they were very good as light infantry and archers, and though not always very steady in the field, and often riotous in their behaviour, they were much sought for this sort of work, and took a prominent share in the great English wars against France and Scotland. The towns which had grown up around the castles were also gradually losing their purely English character though the law sought to uphold it by prohibiting Welshmen settling among them. All towns in Wales were in their origin English, partly because the Welsh of those days hated trade and town life, partly because they were established as a permanent garrison in the English interest. But the so-called "English towns" were bit by bit losing their purely English character. The English married Welsh wives; Welshmen settled within their walls and took to trade. Everything pointed to a gradual amalgamation of races and interests, though the process was of course very slow.

Outside the Principality was the *March of Wales*. The word March properly means borders, but the use of the term had been extended in Wales to include all the Welsh districts governed by feudal lords with sovereign rights over their estates. Nearly all South Wales, and most of East Wales, were included in the Marches. The greatest of them were the Earldom of Pembroke and the Lordship

of Glamorgan, both with the organisation of a county. But the Lordships Marcher were very numerous, and their number and diversity, the rivalry of their lords with each other, and the strange conflict of jurisdictions among so many petty princes, caused the Marches to be the most disturbed part of Wales. The Marcher Lordships generally belonged to great English noblemen, who had, of course, other estates in England, but who often fought their feuds with each other in these lawless and remote battle grounds. No part of the country played a greater part in the history of the 13th and 14th century than the Welsh Marches. Here the struggle of Simon of Montfort for constitutional liberty began and ended. The tragic history of Edward II. closed in the Lordship of Glamorgan. Richard II.'s career was ended in the Marches of North-eastern Wales. But as time went on many of the Lordships Marcher lapsed to the Crown, and were, being distinct from the Principality, governed directly by the King. After 1399, the accession of the Duke of Lancaster to the Crown, brought several more Lordships Marcher directly under the King. The Earldom of Pembroke, the Lordship of Glamorgan, the Honour of Brecon, and the Lordship of Denbigh, were all directly governed by the deputies of Henry IV. The other chief Marcher Lords were the Earl of Arundel, a strong Lancastrian partisan, who was Lord of Clun, Chirk, Oswestry, Bromfield, and Yale; Reginald Grey, Lord of Ruthin; John Charlton, Lord of Powys, whose power centred in his castle of Welshpool; the great Mortimer family, and who governed Radnor, Melenyth, Gwrthrenion, Kerry, Kedewain, and much of what is now Herefordshire, Shropshire, and Denbighshire, besides Usk, Caerleon, and a good deal of Gwent. Early in Edward III.'s reign, when the guilty favour

of the young King's mother raised the most violent of the Mortimers to the coveted rank of Earl, he received as his title that of Earl of the March. Nearly all existing earls had taken their title from some county, and men resented the novel distinction conferred on Roger Mortimer. It seemed as if the Earldom of the March was raised almost side by side with the Principality of Wales. Henceforth the Mortimers, Earls of March, were undoubtedly the first of the great houses of feudal Wales. But after the fall of Richard II., the Earl of March was a minor, and his lands in the custody of the King, who watched him with special jealousy, as King Richard had recognised him as the presumptive heir to the crown; and because he was the great-grandson of Lionel of Clarence, and the representative of the eldest surviving line of Edward III., so that *if* the Crown went like an estate to the nearest heir, he had a better right to the throne than King Henry. In his veins, too, ran the blood of Gwladus Ddu, the daughter of Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, so that no one could claim with such a good title to represent the good old stock of the Lords of Gwynedd.

Besides these Lordships was the County Palatine of Cheshire, with its dependency the County of Flint, ruled over by the Prince of Wales, who was also Earl of Chester. The position of Cheshire under Richard II. was one of peculiar importance. Made Earl of Chester as well as Prince of Wales in his youth, Richard had no heir on whom he could confer the Earldom or the Principality, and kept both in his own hands. To Cheshire Richard ever shewed a peculiar affection. Ever intent on making himself despot of England, by breaking down the constitutional restraints which he loathed, Richard always looked to his wild, fierce Cheshire

following for particular support in designs which he knew to be odious to ordinary Englishmen.

It was an age when local ties counted for everything, and the Cheshire men, indifferent to England as a whole, amply repaid the peculiar confidence which their earl shewed in them. It was in 1397 that Cheshire first lent its full measure of support to Earl Richard. It was a time of Richard's great *coup d'état*, when he crushed his old adversaries the Lords Appellant, and in packed Parliaments condemned them to death, to forfeiture, and to banishment. To carry out this unpopular work, Richard needed a trusty bodyguard. He distributed his badge of the White Hart to all Cheshire men who would wear his livery and espouse his cause. He was soon surrounded by a band of two thousand Cheshire archers, whose support enabled him to defy the mob of London and the indignant wrath of his subjects. "These men," says a chronicler, "being brutes by nature, were ready to execute any deed of wickedness; and they soon waxed so wanton in their insolence, that they regarded the King as their fellow and despised all others, even great lords. And these men were not of the gentry of the shire, but drawn from the plough, from the cobbler's last, and every other mechanic craft; so that those who at home were hardly thought worthy to take off their master's boots, thought themselves abroad as good as a lord."¹

But to go on with the long catalogue of crimes which the angry chronicler attributes to the Cheshire men would take us too far from Owen Glendower. After his great triumph in 1397, Richard rewarded Cheshire handsomely for its support. We can still read in the Rolls of Parliament (An. 1397, p. 353) how

¹ *Annales Ricardi II.*, p. 208, apud Trokelowe, etc. Rolls Series.

Richard "for his great love and affection for his County of Chester and its people," raised the earldom into a principality, and enlarged its limits by incorporating with Cheshire the forfeited March-land estates of the Earl of Arundel, who had fallen a victim to his fury. The chief of these new additions were the lordships of Bromfield and Yale, the old patrimony of the Warennes; the lordship of Chirk, a spoil from the Mortimers and the ancient Fitzalan lordships of Oswestry and Clun. So that had Richard's scheme proved permanent, Cheshire would have sent a broad block of territory westwards, which would have included the south-east part of modern Denbighshire, as well as a narrow arm southward, between Shropshire and the border of Wales, which would have reached as far south as the borders of Herefordshire. In return, the Cheshiremen adhered strenuously to Richard through good and evil fortune alike. Cheshire contributed a large portion of the army that accompanied the ill-fated King to Ireland. When Henry of Bolingbroke had acquired a great following, he promptly made for Chester as the real seat of Richard's power; and Richard, landing forlorn somewhere on the Welsh coast, equally hurried to the faithful Palatinate as his best hope of efficient help. But Henry's force was too strong for Cheshire to be able to strike an effective blow for Richard. Nevertheless, even after Richard's surrender to his cousin, Cheshire rose in revolt in favour of Prince Richard against Henry IV., though Henry, as Duke of Lancaster and the heir of the Lacies, had considerable possessions in Cheshire; and as hereditary Constable of Chester, was lord of the castle of Halton, and an extensive tract of surrounding territory on both banks of the Mersey. But Henry Percy (henceforth Justice and Governor of North Wales and

Chester), the famous "Hotspur," soon quelled the revolt. We shall see later on how, when Owain Glyndwr's revolt gave Cheshire another chance, it was eagerly seized. Not even the unnatural alliance of Cheshiremen and Welshmen prevented Cheshire from strenuously supporting the rebel, who rose not only for Wales but also for King Richard. Without the help of the Cheshiremen the Percies could never have put so strong an army in the field to fight King Henry at Shrewsbury. When the fortunes of the Battle of Shrewsbury declared for King Henry, a considerable proportion of the victims of the fight belonged to the gentry and commons of Cheshire; who thus combined their ancient loyalty to Richard II., with their new loyalty to their Justice, Henry Percy.

Neither the Principality nor the Marches nor Chester were strictly parts of England, but rather *dependencies* of it, with a law and government of their own, and no representation in the English Parliament.

Such was the chief distribution of power in the Wales of Owain Glyndwr. We must now turn to Owain himself. His full name was Owain ap Gruffydd, Lord of Glyndyvrwy. He sprang from some of the noblest stocks in Wales. On his father's side his genealogy went up to the Princes of Powys Vadog. But Owain also claimed to be descended from the old lines of the Kings of Gwynedd, and the Kings of Deheubarth. Yet it is almost certain that the pedigree through his mother Helen to Llewelyn ap Gruffydd cannot be true. All Llewelyn's legitimate stock died out with his daughters. The next generation, as is always the case, knew much more on these points than Owain's contemporaries. He was born in 1359. He had a younger brother named Tudor, three years his junior. His father Gruffydd

survived long enough for tears to run down his furrowed cheeks at Owain's early wrongs and distresses in his struggle against the English. But Owain himself had got possession of his estates, the two manors in North Wales, with two noble mansions, in which he dispensed a lavish hospitality. Iolo Goch has left us a picturesque description of Owain's principal house, at Sycharth, in Edeyrnion, which he compares, with bardic exaggeration, to Westminster Abbey, Cheapside, and other great centres of magnificence and wealth. There Owain kept open house, with plenty of good cheer, Shrewsbury ale, and wine. He needed no porter, no locks and bolts. In particular he welcomed the wandering bards, so that Sycharth became, as Iolo says, a paradise of bards, for whom he had comfortable quarters in the attics, where

“Pleasantly in slumbers deep
Amidst the rafters minstrels sleep;
Four rooms to eight afford them rest,
A spacious light and airy nest.”

Fortified with a strong tower and moat, like all border houses, for protection, it was yet surrounded with orchards, vineyards, cornfields, the cottages of his dependents, and all the busy life of the court of a great lord. Owain had another house at Glyndyvrwy, in the Dee valley between Corwen and Llangollen, of only less splendour. And besides his property in Powys and Edeyrnion, Owain possessed two manors in South Wales—how got I know not—perhaps from his mother, whom tradition connects with Pembrokeshire. Their names were Yscoed and Gwynyoneth, and they are plainly identical with the cymmwds of Yscoed and Gwynyoneth in Cardigan. From these four manors Owain derived a revenue of 300 marks, or £200 a year; a very considerable income for those days, when a

workman could live comfortably on a penny a day, and especially in Wales, where large properties were few, and where more than a hundred years later, very few Welshmen in Wales, above Brecon, had more than £10 a year in lands. Owain was probably one of the richest Welshmen of his time.

Owain was no wild Welshman who had never left his native mountains, but a gentleman of education, culture, and experience. In his youth he had studied law in London, as was the case with gentlemen of property in those days. But he had given up law for arms, and had become a squire of Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, whose great castle of Dinas Bran was in the immediate neighbourhood of Owain's main estates. In 1385 he served in a campaign against the Scots. He then became squire of Henry of Lancaster, afterwards King Henry IV., and gained renown as a soldier when fighting with his lord. It is sometimes said that Owain was in Richard II.'s service, but this statement is due to a mistranslation of one of the Latin authorities.¹ It is unlikely that a follower of Arundel would be in the service of Richard, the bitter enemy of the Fitzalans. I can find no evidence of the statement so often repeated that he was in Richard's company when that monarch surrendered himself a prisoner at Flint to his victorious cousin. It is, apparently, a bad inference from an untrue statement. It shews how very carelessly most writers have examined the sources of Owain's history. I must mention that in 1386 Owain Glyndwr was one of the crowd of witnesses in the famous Scrope-Grosvenor suit,

¹ *Annales Henrici IV.*, p. 333, apud Trokelowe. 'Scutifer regi moderno,' can only mean Henry IV. The portents which in late writers are narrated as attending Owain's birth, are, so far as mentioned at all by the original writers, told of Edmund Mortimer.

testifying in favour of Robert Grosvenor's claim to bear the arms "azure a bend or."¹

Unlike most Welshmen, who were strong partizans of Richard, Owain's antecedents were entirely Lancastrian, and he might have been expected to welcome the accession of his old master, Henry of Lancaster, to the English throne. But London was a long way from Sycharth, and it so happened that about the time of Henry IV.'s accession, a powerful neighbour of Owain's, Reginald Grey, Lord of Ruthin, had laid violent hands upon a part of Owain's property. In the wild March regions might was a greater force than right, and though Owain argued and remonstrated with his neighbour, it was all to no purpose. At last he made his way to London, and complained before the assembled Parliament of Lord Grey's outrage. But the lords laughed at his petition, and he could get no redress. John Trevor, the Bishop of St. Asaph, himself a Welshman, warned the lords that if they neglected the Welshman he might cause them no small trouble. They insolently answered that they cared nothing for the barefooted buffoons of Wales. Owain went home in sullen anger, and in the lawless old border way revenged his wrongs by harrying Grey's estates with fire and sword, and extending his devastations to the very gates of Ruthin.

It was now the year 1400. Henry IV.'s new throne was very insecure. The Scots were invading the northern counties. The French were threatening the coasts, and denouncing Henry as an usurper. The very nobles who had helped Henry to the throne were angry,

¹ *Scrope and Grosvenor Roll*, I., 254, ed. Nicolas. This important document tells us most that we know of the personal details of Owain's early history.

discontented, and rebellious. The tidings went abroad that King Richard was still alive. The Grey Friars of the Order of St. Francis (who had a hold on the lower orders not unlike that of the Methodist preachers in the palmy days of Methodism), were, to a man, sworn partisans of the deposed monarch. John Wycliffe's poor priests, the rivals of the Franciscans, bore no good-will to the new King, whose accession was, above all things, a triumph of Catholic orthodoxy. Parliament took nearly all the work of government out of Henry's hands, and the poor King, with a disputed title, no power, no friends, no money, was soon at his wits' end to know what to do.

Nowhere was the discontent greater than in Wales, and nowhere did the spirit of rude lawlessness make it easier for rebellions and risings to spring up. When, at his accession, Henry IV. made his son Henry, then a boy of thirteen, Prince of Wales, a shrewd French observer saw that "young Henry would have to conquer his land if he would have it, for," said he, "I believe that the Welsh will on no account suffer him to be their lord, for the sorrow which the English and his father have brought upon King Richard." The young Prince had indeed a strong Council, and, boy though he was, was himself beginning to take an active share in political work. At the head of his Council was Henry Percy, the famous Hotspur, the son of the Earl of Northumberland, and now Justice of North Wales and Chester. But the arm of the law was weak; Hotspur was thrown almost on his own resources, and from the very day of Richard's deposition the spirit of discontent grew to a head in Wales and Cheshire.

Owain's Lancastrian antecedents must have prevented him at first from feeling much sympathy with his fellow

countrymen's affection for King Richard. But his own wrongs had now made him violently disaffected against the new government. Besides the seizure of his lands, the rough and head-strong Reginald Grey had now wrought a new outrage upon him. In the summer of 1400 the King summoned his vassals to march against Scotland. The writ addressed to the Lord of Glyndyrvrdwy was entrusted to Grey, who neglected to deliver it until such a short time before the beginning of the expedition that Owain was unable to appear. Grey then denounced Owain as a traitor who neglected his lawful service in the host of his monarch. The breach grew wider and wider. When King Henry came back from Scotland he learnt that all Wales was in revolt, and that Owain was at the head of the rebellion.

Owain was now 41 years of age, a thin, thoughtful looking man, with strongly marked lines in his forehead, in appearance almost past middle age, and with a long peaked beard. He was the father of a large family, some of whom were already grown up. His wife is described by Iolo Goch as

“ the best of wives.

Happy am I,” sings he, “ in her wine and mead,
Eminent woman of a knightly family,
Honourable, beneficent, noble ;
Her children come in pairs,
A beautiful nest of chieftains.”

Owain's wife was, it is said, Margaret, daughter of Sir David Hanmer, a member of the famous Flintshire house of that name, who had been a judge under Richard II.

In his retirement at Sycharth, Owain had long brooded over the legendary glories of Cambria. The fabled prophecies of Merlyn, the wondrous deeds of the old British Kings, as imagined by Geoffrey of Monmouth, had exercised enormous influence all through

the middle ages. To Owain they were at once the revelation of a glorious past and the promise of even a brighter future. His bards had sung to him the song of the monarchy of Britain, till he became filled with a wild desire to follow in the steps of Arthur, and revenge on the Saxon the wrongs of generations of his race. A strange and weird enthusiasm took possession of his whole soul. He began to live (for his followers and enemies at least) in a world of miracle and mystery which seems strange and incredible to us, but which was regular and natural to an age which saw a mystery in every natural law, a portent in every storm, and an omen of forthcoming woe in every comet. Yet with all this imaginative and poetical environment, Owain retained the shrewdness and cunning of the insurgent chieftain. He was dignified and imposing to his allies, stern and terrible to the wretched bard (who hot with wine forgot the awful distance—as he himself says—that lay between himself and the Lord of Glyndyvrwy), ruthless and implacable to his enemies, persevering and long-suffering in adversity, full of fire and fury in prosperity. In every way his was a grand and imposing character, not one that we moderns can or ought fully to sympathize with, but such an one as we must seek to understand if we would realise the true lessons of history.

The Welsh rising was, in its origin, a rebellion in favour of King Richard, alive or dead, against King Henry. As such it specially commended itself to Cheshiremen. They helped Owain as much as they could. Mr. Henry Taylor, in his valuable "Historic Notices of Flint," has shewn us very clearly how the officers of Henry IV. had the utmost difficulty in preventing Chester selling beer and bread, destined for the King's troops, to the

rebels. The rebellion for a long time fully retained the character of a Ricardian revolt, and its long continuance and success were ever largely due to the sympathy and support which the enemies of the House of Lancaster all over the world bestowed upon it. But under Owain's guidance it assumed a second aspect, an aspect which put the Cheshiremen in a rather difficult position. It became also a *Welsh National Struggle* to win back the ancient freedom of Cambria; to drive out the English name, race, and tongue, from Wales; to destroy the frowning castles that were the badges of the Norman and Edwardian conquests; and to root out the colonies of English traders and soldiers from the towns that they had planted. Bards and minstrels hurried over Wales as messengers of sedition or of national independence. The fields remained untilled, and the Welshman sold his cattle for what price he could get, bought arms and armour with the money and followed Owain to the field. The Welsh students—that then swarmed at Oxford, and were not uncommon at Cambridge—forsook their books and lectures, and joined the rebellion. The Welsh workmen (who then sought work in large numbers all over England), threw up their employment, and hurried back to their fatherland with whatever arms they could purchase or steal. The Welsh tenants of English lords forgot the ties of generations, and deserted the men they had sworn to follow in the very crisis of the fight. Race hatreds, that had long been dying out, revived in all their baleful force. A patriotism, half heroic, half insane, soon wrought terrible desolation in the land of its love. The most sacred shrines were laid low. The two Cathedrals of North Wales were burnt to the ground, and there was scarcely an abbey that was not plundered or destroyed. The scarcity of really

ancient buildings in the Wales of to-day is in no small measure due to this long and bloody war—almost as fatal to the glories of early mediæval architecture as even the hands of the modern “restorer.”

The great Welsh rising broke out in the summer of 1400. It was heralded by a portent. The stream in which the decapitated head of Llewelyn (the last of the native Welsh Princes) had been washed, flowed for a whole day in a fountain of blood. The rising seems to have burst out everywhere in North Wales at once, planned no doubt by secret agents, such as the wandering minstrels and friars. The English were taken by surprise, and the half ruined and scantily manned castles and walled towns in many cases succumbed to the fury of the assault. Owain at once put himself at the head of the movement, and soon began to call himself Prince of Wales, and assume the dignity of a sovereign.

In September, 1400, Henry IV. himself invaded North Wales, and remained a month in the country, “seeking eagerly,” as one of the chroniclers says, “for some one to slay but finding no one.” For Owain saw at once that his light-armed hordes of peasants could not stand up in pitched battle against the men-at-arms and archers of England. He therefore prudently shrank from fighting, and hid away in the rocks and caverns, while the great part of his followers dispersed. After a month, want of provisions began to tell severely on the English army, and Henry retired, strengthening the garrisons and repairing the fortresses, and leaving Hotspur in command in North Wales. For a time it seemed as if the rebellion had died out. Iolo Goch lamented the disappearance of Owain in impassioned strains, and the Welsh leader lurked in concealment with only seven companions.

The King granted his lands to the Earl of Somerset (John Beaufort, Henry's half-brother), but he was still anxious for conciliation, and on the petition of the Prince of Wales, issued a general pardon to all the rebels, except to Owain himself and the brothers Rhys and Gwilym, sons of Tudor. The commoners of Carnarvon and Merioneth humbly tendered their thanks to the King for his kindness. All seemed going well.

In the Parliament which met in January, 1401, severe coercive measures were taken to isolate the obstinate rebels, and to keep up the English settlements in Wales, which, as we have seen, had been gradually losing their distinctive English character. Strong efforts were also made to keep the two races from mixing, and to retain the government of Wales exclusively in English hands. No Welshman was to be a justice, chamberlain, seneschal, sheriff, constable, or keeper. Each district was to be strictly responsible for all breaches of the peace. No meetings of Welshmen were to be held without permission of the authorities. The bards, who by their divinations, falsehoods, and exhortations, had been largely the cause of the rebellion, were denied their accustomed collections and offerings. The most vigorous measures were taken to maintain the English garrisons.

It was well that the English had marshalled their forces, for with the return of spring Owain came out from his lair, and was again plundering, burning, and devastating. There is no need to describe the war in detail, even if our authorities allowed us to do so. Regular campaigns there were none; for the Welsh could not face the heavy battle array of the English, and had neither skill, nor men, nor money for war on a grand scale. Neither was such a war their best policy. Owain confined himself to an irregular guerilla warfare, which

kept his enemies in constant watchfulness, and inflicted on them a long series of petty but demoralising defeats.

The rebel leader showed extraordinary activity and energy. One time he was in the North, then his standard was raised in the South; but, before an adequate force could be collected to oppose him, he was back again in the North. When a regular army swept the country he was nowhere to be found. Year after year King Henry led great hosts into Gwynedd. But the same fate befell them as the invaders of 1400. They found no open resistance; but their supplies were cut off, their stragglers were massacred, and they were forced to go home with no better trophies than a drove of Welsh cattle or a few obscure prisoners. Their greatest exploits were to re-victual and repair the stronger castles; which, as soon as they retired, were closely blockaded by the insurgent levies, pressed hard in all cases, and in many reduced to capitulation. In all the open country Prince Owain ruled and not Prince Henry. The poverty and helplessness of the Crown, the many formidable dangers with which King Henry was beset, made it impossible for him to make a great and long sustained effort to put down Owain. The scanty and much enduring garrisons were too feeble to withstand him. The occasional and half-hearted efforts of a hastily levied and unwilling army were of no avail to stem so strong a current.

In the first two years of the revolt, Hotspur struggled on with his own resources against Glyndwr; but he soon got tired of the costly and hopeless strife, resigned his office of Justice of North Wales in disgust, and, before leaving the country, made some sort of understanding with his old ally. Under the cloak of negotiations for peace, Northumberland, Hotspur's father, exchanged messages with Owain. Owain professed the greatest

desire for ending the horrors of the war ; and complained that it was no fault of his that he had been defrauded of his heritage. But while thus showing a peaceable disposition, he was establishing relations with the French, the Scots, and the Irish. Flushed by his success over the King in the campaign of 1401, he made a great effort for 1402. In terror the English declared that the wild barbarian had vowed to root out the English name. A disgraceful panic seized upon the borderers. A great comet shone in the sky, and all men looked upon it as the herald of some new disaster.

Early in 1402 Owain made two forays against Ruthin, the stronghold of his old enemy Reginald Grey. In the second the haughty marcher was himself within his castle walls. After approaching the town Owain feigned flight, and lured Grey to follow him into the woods with a small band of soldiers. When he was well out of the reach of the castle, Owain planted an ambush, into which Grey unsuspectingly fell. His followers were slaughtered and he himself was led away a prisoner to Snowdon. Three months later Owain won even a greater victory at Pilleth, in the modern Radnorshire, over Sir Edmund Mortimer, the uncle of the Earl of March. In the midst of the action Mortimer's Welsh tenants from Melenydd deserted their lord for Owain. The levies of Herefordshire were defeated with vast slaughter. Mortimer shared the fate of Grey ; but it was soon noised abroad that he was no unwilling captive. While Grey languished in harsh and dire restraint, Mortimer was treated with the reverence due to a future King of England.

To retrieve these two great disasters, King Henry despatched, in September, three great armies into Wales. But the mighty host was reduced to terrible distress by

unseasonable cold, and by constant tempests of rain, hail, and snow. Within three weeks the English had returned home, beaten, believing that magic alone could have conjured up such storms and disasters, and that Owain had got from the Devil the power of making himself invisible at will. Despairing of succour, Reginald Grey now ruined himself to purchase his ransom. Edmund Mortimer married his captor's daughter, and formed a shameful alliance with his enemy. Before the year was out he was back among his tenants in Melenydd proclaiming that he and Owain were agreed to restore King Richard if he were alive, and, if not, to make the Earl of March King of England. The Richardian element now for a time prevails over the Welsh national element. Secret dealings were entered into with the Percies, who were now on the verge of revolt against Henry, though they had made him King. The Scots joined in the alliance. It seemed as if the unity of Britain was about to be destroyed by a strong and almost irresistible wave of separatism.

In the spring of 1403 Owain gathered his forces together, and boasted that he would no longer shrink from battle. Henry, Prince of Wales, now took the field against him in person. Though only seventeen years old, Henry was already hard at work at war and diplomacy, and found plenty to do in resisting his rival for the Welsh Principality. But when Henry marched into the rebel's country, Owain, as usual, disappointed him, and was nowhere to be found. Henry was content with burning Owain's two manors at Sycharth and Glyndyvrwy. But Owain was now engaged in a new great task. He left Henry to ravage and burn the farmsteads of Edeyrnion. He and his more trusted

followers were far away in the South, where, for the first time, were now kindled the fires of civil war.

Up to now no part of Wales, south of Cardiganshire, had revolted. The whole Diocese of Llandaff was in peace; and that of St. David's barely touched by the insurrection. But the defection of Edmund Mortimer had been followed by the rising of the Lordships Marcher included in the modern Radnorshire and Breconshire, where the interest of the Mortimer family was so strong. The rebels gathered round Brecon, and it was necessary to send for the Sheriff of Herefordshire to raise the siege. This he did on July 1st, but on July 2nd Owain unfurled his banner in the Vale of Towy, and called upon the Welshmen of the South to rally round the national cause.

By a curious accident several bundles of letters are still preserved, written in haste and dread by the panic-stricken commanders of the South Welsh castles, which enable us to get a very detailed picture of this revolt of the South.¹ For ten days the usual obscurity falls from Owain's movements. We know where he slept every night, and what he did every day. We read how his appearance on July 2nd, in the Vale of Towy, was followed by a general rising. Dynevor Castle was besieged by a wild mob, and the frightened commander wrote imploring letters urging the relief of a castle that the Welsh specially desired to capture because it was the chief place of old time. For a day or two Owain remained in the Vale of Towy, receiving the allegiance of all Carmarthenshire, and of the Welsh of the adjoining Lordships Marcher. On July 4th he slept at Drysllwyn. On July 5th he was before the gates of Carmarthen, the capital of South Wales. Next day

¹ Ellis' *Original Letters*, 2nd Series, I, 13-23. Hingeston's *Royal Letters*, pp. 138-152, Rolls Series.

he captured the castle and burnt the town. He now proposed to march against Kidwelly, but a famous prophet from Gower, named Hopcyn ap Thomas, warned him that if he did he would be taken in a brief time by foes under a black banner. As Hopcyn was a "master of the Bruts," Owain implicitly believed his warnings. He turned off eastwards, and part of his forces were forced to fight a sharp battle with the English of Pembrokeshire, near St. Clears; but Owain again shrank from a general engagement, and returned to Carmarthen. The curtain now falls again on his movements. But we know that all South Wales had now rallied to his side. The storm broke at last in Gwent and Morganwg. Usk, Caerleon, and Newport fell into Owain's hands. Cardiff he burnt, save one street, which he spared because his friends the Franciscan Friars dwelt in it. Herefordshire was ravaged as far as the Severn. "Like a second Assyrian, the wrath of God's anger," so complains the Welsh chronicler, Adam of Usk, "Owain enacted everywhere deeds of unheard of tyranny with fire and sword."

Owain had now gained South Wales, except a few castles and the English district of Pembrokeshire. But he had lost his great chance while he was rushing from castle to castle of the Vale of Towy. His allies, the Percies, had suddenly broken with the King, and were now marching hurriedly towards Wales to unite their forces with those of Mortimer and Glyndwr. Many Welshmen joined them; but the main host had not yet appeared, when on July 21st they were compelled to fight at Shrewsbury. King Henry there won a complete victory; Hotspur was slain; Prince Henry covered himself with glory; the back of the rebellion was broken. Owain had lost his best chance. In the autumn

King Henry invaded South Wales and recaptured the fortresses. Owain never had so strong a hold over the South again.

The year 1404 marks the highest point of Owain's power. He had now assumed the state of a sovereign prince. He had his chancellor, his officers, his great seal, his privy seal. The careful and artistic workmanship of his seals shows that he had good craftsmen in his camp. He summoned a Welsh Parliament to Harlech or Machynlleth, consisting of "four of the most sufficient persons in every cymmwd of Wales under his lordship." What this Parliament did we have no authentic means of knowing, though we know the English watched its doings with no small anxiety; but it seems possible that Prince Owain found as many difficulties at Machynlleth as King Henry found at Westminster. Anyhow he did not repeat his experiment.

Owain now had a regular *Foreign Policy*. Years before, he had written to the King of Scots and the Lords of Ireland, urging them by the ties of common ancestry and common foes to aid him in revenging the wrongs of centuries upon the Saxons, and thus to fulfil the prophecy of Merlyn. But his messengers fell into the King's hands and were hung; and the Cardiganshire knight, whom the King of France had despatched to urge the King of Scots to take up Owain's cause, had also been taken a prisoner. But now Owain sent a regular embassy, consisting of his chancellor, Dr. Griffith Young, and his son-in-law, John Hanmer, to the Court of Paris. They were received there in great state by King Charles VI. himself; who sent valuable presents through them to Owain, and drew up a formal treaty of alliance with his "Cousin Owain, by God's grace, Prince of Wales." Even before this French ships had appeared in Car-

marthen Bay to help Owain. A large French fleet soon sailed for Milford Haven, and though it lost many vessels on its way to the watchful English cruisers, a considerable French force soon landed at Dyved. They brought with them the machines and the siege train in which the lightly-armed Welsh had been so deficient. Carmarthen soon fell for a second time into Owain's hands; but this was the greatest result of the boasted French assistance. France was miserably weak at the time; the best energies of Frenchmen were being wasted on factious fights against each other; if one faction favoured Owain and cried shame on Henry as a usurper, and the murderer of Richard, the other sought to overcome its rivals by the aid of the King of the English. Again, in 1406, French troops arrived in Wales; but only a small part of those sent from France ever reached the shores of the Principality. Year by year Henry IV. was getting stronger. Though in 1406 the houseless Northumberland sought a refuge at Owain's court, he went back to Scotland in the following year, and was accompanied on his flight by Owain's two episcopal supporters, who now left Wales "for fear of King Henry." Yet it was now that real power was running low that claims were urgent. It was probably in 1406¹ that the famous Tripartite Convention was signed dividing England and Wales between Owain, Northumberland, and Sir Edward Mortimer. I will not tell you how much of West England was to fall to Owain, besides Wales and the Marches. I may say that it included all Cheshire. But the treaty was so much waste paper.

A result of Owain's French Alliance was his adoption of a definite *Ecclesiastical Policy*. Owain had perhaps sought hitherto more inspiration in the mysteries of the

¹ This is Mr. J. H. Wylie's opinion.

Bruts and of Merlyn than from Christian or Catholic tradition. He had never scrupled to destroy Churches and Churchmen; he had destroyed the venerable cathedrals of Bangor and St. Asaph; he had driven the high-born nuns of Usk to beg their bread. But he had had no inconsiderable support from the Welsh clergy. The Order of St. Francis was everywhere on his side; and great abbots, like the ruler of the Cistercian Abbey of Strata Florida, had been constant to the popular cause. The North Welsh bishops (Richard Young of Bangor and John Trevor of St. Asaph) had been driven from their Sees, and had been deprived of their property. Young, a faithful diplomatist, and minister of King Henry, secured his translation from his unruly See to the peaceful Kentish bishopric of Rochester. But Trevor—who, as we have seen, had been the first man to realise the significance of Owain's rebellion—ran away from Court in 1404, and became a leader among the rebels, plundering and burning his old diocese as freely and remorselessly as Owain himself. Owain now set up another bishop of his own in Bangor, and got his appointment ratified by the Pope. This was Llewelyn or Lewis Bifort, who, along with Trevor, fled in 1407 to Scotland, and next year fell into Henry's hands in a battle in the north. He, however, escaped again, and appeared as Bishop of Bangor in the famous Council of Constance in 1415. He was never, however, recognised by the English Government, and as the rebellion shrank up, his See was put into other hands.

This was the time of the great *Schism of the Papacy*, when rival Popes at Rome and Avignon cursed and anathematised each other, and wrangled fiercely for the obedience of Europe. England obeyed the Roman Pope; France, and its dependent Scotland, recognised

the Pope at Avignon.. As the result of Owain's French and Scottish Alliance, insurgent Wales seems to have deserted the Roman for the French obedience. The bards boasted that the Pope was on their side. But the greedy and self-seeking Pope at Avignon was more likely to ask than to bestow; and I cannot find that his support did Owain much good. Doubtless it imparted a more religious element to the war. For the wars against partisans of the rival Popes everywhere assumed the aspect of a Crusade. Spiritual privileges—indulgences and pardons—were freely bestowed on the champions of each side. But the simple Welshmen knew little of the rights and wrongs of the contest, and the new element seems to have had little effect in determining the issue of the struggle. Henceforth, however, Owain's bards adorn their war-songs with boasts that the Pope was on their side. "May God and Rome's blest father high, Deck him in surest panoply: Where'er he wends St. Peter guard him; and may the Lord five lives award him"—and again—"Come well begirt with arms of Rome, Come harvest of St. Peter's seal; Thy cause full just will God reveal . . ." Both these come, I think, from *Iolo Goch*. It was high time that the bards took up a more impassioned strain, for the attempt to combine Welsh and English enemies to Lancaster was already drawing to an end.

Isolated in his Welsh hills, Owain, depending for support upon the enemies of the English name, became more fiercely Welsh than ever. The happy survival of a despatch which he sent in March, 1406, from Pennal to the French King, shews that Owain had now adopted a *National Policy* that curiously anticipates most of the more reasonable demands of our modern Welsh Nationalists. He urged that, as the Church of St.

David's had long been trampled upon by Canterbury, it should be restored to its imagined ancient position as a Metropolitan Church, and that the Archbishop of St. David's should be over not only the Welsh bishops, but Bath, Exeter, Hereford, Worcester, Lichfield—*i.e.*, the bishops of the South-west and West Midlands. He urged that no one should be appointed to a bishopric or church dignity in Wales unless he could speak Welsh; and that all appropriations of Welsh churches to English monasteries or colleges should be ignored, and that two universities should be established, one in North and one in South Wales. It shews that in Owain Glyndwr's time there were some of the difficulties experienced that now beset the path of the Welsh educational reformer, that he adds that the exact sites of these universities is to be determined afterwards. It is perhaps an anticipation of the less reasonable side of modern Welsh Nationalism that Owain asked the Pope to denounce Henry of Lancaster and all his supporters—all Englishmen, in fact—as heretics, and that all sins of violence should not stand in the way of full remission of sins to the patriots who fought against Henry of Lancaster, the usurper.¹

The most flourishing part of Owain's career is now over. Little by little King Henry triumphed over his difficulties at home and abroad, and thus isolated Wales from more foreign support. He had put down with a stern hand the Franciscans and other Ricardian partisans in England, who had boasted that Owain would soon come and bring back the rightful king.

When Lady Despenser (whose husband had been Lord of Glamorgan) fled from England to join Owain, and

¹ I think the discovery of this most important document is due to Mr. Wylie, the admirable historian of Henry IV.

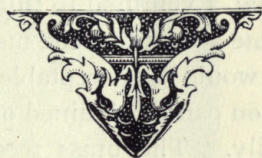
raise her old tenants, Henry managed to capture her before any mischief was done. Henry no longer sent great tumultuous hosts into Wales. He saw that the best plan was to localise the revolt, and keep it in check by sufficient garrisons of permanent and well tried regular troops. He strictly compelled the local lords to remain on their estates and garrison their castles. He sternly censured the private truces which they were too fond of making with Owain. He showed great leniency to rebels who submitted, and issued pardons from which only Owain and a few leaders were excepted. His troops won great victories in the field. One son of Owain was taken prisoner along with his chancellor, and another son was slain. Prince Henry (though often called away from his work in Wales by politics in London) was now irresistible. He penetrated into the heart of Welsh Wales, and won back the castles that Owain had conquered. Aberystwith Castle was at length wrested from Owain by Prince Henry in person. Harlech Castle surrendered, and with it Edmund Mortimer, in miserable plight and dying. After 1408 the South seems to have been almost entirely pacified. The capture of Harlech, after a long, expensive, and laborious siege, in February, 1409, prepared the way for the capture of Gwynedd. Yet Owain still held out bravely in the North; and, though generally hiding amidst the mountains and moors, occasionally led a destructive foray to the gates of the Marchers' castles, and wrought so much mischief and excited so much alarm, that it was a hard business for King Henry to prevent the Marchers from renewing their private truces, or paying black mail to get their estates spared in the next raid. But Owain, "by the grace of God, Prince of Wales," no longer ruled in sovereign state as lord of a great and obedient

country. He was now little better than a brigand, a cattle-lifter, and a marauder on a grander and more heroic scale. But he was no starving deserted fugitive, reduced to a shadow by starvation, and chewing gravel and mud to assuage the pangs of hunger, as the English tell. He still held his own, protected by his own daring and activity, sheltered by the love of his former subjects, and secure through the impotence of the English Government. So late as 1412 he had in his hands a gentleman so well known as Davydd Gam of Brecon, who could only be released by a large ransom and a formal treaty with his captors.

In 1413 Henry, Prince of Wales, became King Henry V. The new king's mind was filled with great visions of restoring the English power in France, and bringing back Catholic unity to a Christendom distracted and perplexed by the great schism in the West, and by the steady advance of the barbarous Turks and the collapse of the Greek Empire in the East. Powerfully attracted by these great plans, Henry had no mind to continue his petty career of castle-taking and fugitive-hunting in his old Principality. He was strong, and could afford to be generous. Soon after his accession Henry issued a general pardon to *all* rebels who submitted, Owain's name no longer appearing as an exception. A month later the capture of Owain's wife, with his daughter, Lady Mortimer, and some of his children and grandchildren, left the rebel leader alone in his old age. Yet he still scorned to surrender, even though his pardon was secure. For two years more the old hero held his own amidst his mountain fastnesses. At last, in 1415, just before setting sail for his glorious expedition to France, Henry commissioned a certain Sir Gilbert Talbot to treat with Owain and receive him into the King's

grace and obedience; but he took the precaution of leaving large bodies of troops in Wales. But in February, 1416, Owain was still holding out, for Talbot then received fresh powers to treat with his son Maredudd on his behalf. This is the last that we hear of Owain. He either died unreconciled soon after, or accepted the generous terms of his conqueror, and spent the short remainder of his life in peace and obscurity. It is said that he lived at the houses of his sons-in-law, Herefordshire squires, at Scudamore and Monnington, and that he was buried in Monnington Churchyard. His death like his birth, was enshadowed in mystery. His sons were dead in the wars, but the generosity of the conquerors allowed his daughters to live on in positions of honour and dignity in Wales; and in 1431 Parliament resolved that Owain's forfeiture for treason was not to affect the rights of his heirs to entailed lands. Bards of the next generation, such as Lewis Glyn Cothi, could celebrate the greatness and prosperity of Owain's children and grandchildren. The drastic laws which still remained on the statute book, did not prevent a simple Welsh gentleman from Anglesey becoming the second husband of the daughter of Owain's ally, Charles VI. of France, and the widow of Henry's conqueror, Henry of Monmouth himself. The heralds who sought to magnify the descent of the Tudors, thought it a glory to connect their line with that of Owain Glyndwr. But this leniency of Henry V. was wise as well as magnanimous. Owain had indeed failed in his attempt to make Wales a separate state. It was well that he did fail. But he succeeded in the nobler task of restoring self-respect and pride in race and country to the people that he loved so well, and who sacrificed so much for his sake. Welsh history is not, as some would have us think, a mere

record of failure. We shall realise this when we connect the career of Owain of Glyndyrdwy with the new birth of Welsh national life that followed the accession of a Welsh dynasty to the English throne, as the representative of that very house of Lancaster which Owain had served in his youth, and had fought against so heroically in the stirring days of his maturity.





John Wythines



IT is a far cry from Chester to Battle Abbey; and hitherto the only connection between the old city and this famous abbey has been the legendary story about King Harold's taking refuge, after his disastrous defeat, in the Hermitage below St. John's Church. During a holiday ramble in the Autumn, visiting Battle Church, I spied a brass in the chancel, which I found to be that of a Cheshire man. Having on me the responsibility of finding material for the pages of our Journal, I ventured to think that a copy of this brass, with some account of the man whose memory is preserved in it, would be acceptable. Unfortunately, but little information can be obtained of John Wythines' parentage or family. The brass records that he had been Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, and for forty-two years Dean of Battle. I have searched through the list of Vice-Chancellors in Le Neve's *Fasti Ecclesie Anglicanæ*, but his name does not appear there. From 1576 to 1590, the list of Vice-Chancellors is complete. In 1563, 1565, 1568, 1569, 1570, no name is given, though it is very probable that the Vice-Chancellor of the previous year held office for two years. John Wythines may have held the office in one of these years. But it is remarkable that Anthony à Wood, in his *Fasti Oxonienses*, says nothing of this. The only person at all like in name mentioned by him is John Withyns of Brasenose College.



HIC IACET IOHANNES WYTHINES IN FRÆ
NOBILI CIVITATE CESTRIÆ NATVS ET IN
ACADEMIA OXON EDVCATVS BIQUE ANI
NASI COLLEGII SOCIVS SACRE THEOLOGIE
DOCTOR ACADEMIEQ OXON PRÆDCE
VICECANCELLARIVS HVVSQ ECCLESIAE DE
BATTEL XLII ANNOS DECANVS QVI OBIT
XVIII DIE MARTII ANNO ETATIS SVÆ 84
ET SALVTIS HVMANÆ 1615

VIXI DVN VOEMI VOEMI DVN CHRISTE VOLEBAS
NEC MIHI VITA BREVIS NEC MIHI LONGA FVIT
VIVO TIBI MORIORQ TIBI TIBI CHRISTE REVRGAM
MORTVVS ET VIVVS SVM MANEQ TVVS

" . . . 1567 Batchelor of Divinity. Only one was admitted this year, viz., John Withynes of Brasen-nose College, which is all I know of him."

"1570 Inc. Doctor of Divinity. John Withyns of Brasen-nose College."

In the "*Registers of the University of Oxford*," published by the Oxford Historical Society, the following particulars are given:—

"WYTHERS, or WITHYS, or WITHEs, or WITHENS JOHN, sup. for B.A., 9 Dec., 1557; Adm. 18 Jan. 1558-9; det. in Lent; sup. for M.A., 19 Dec., 1561; licensed 23 Jan., 1561-2; inc. 26 Jan. Fellow of Brasenose." p. 235.

WITHENES or WITHENS JOHN, M.A., sup. for B.D., 25 Feb., 1566-7; Adm. 10 May; sup. for D.D.; April, 1570; lic. 1570; disp. June from his circuitus, because the public prelector of Theology was not at home last night when he went round (quando circuiret) and Mr. Bickly, inceptor of Theology is allowed to depose for him because there is not a competent number of Doctors, inc. 10 July, of Brasenose.

In these records, "sup." is an abbreviation for supplicate = ask permission to take a degree; "det." = determined, *i.e.*, performed the final exercises for the B.A. degree; "disp." = dispensed, granted a dispensation or exemption from some requirement of the statutes; "incepted" = completed the final exercises for a Master's or Doctor's degree; "lic." = licensed to a degree.

John Wythines was a man of considerable position and influence. He and his friends are discussed unfavourably in a report made to Lord Burleigh, apparently about the time of the Spanish Armada. The report is endorsed—"24 Aug., 1596. D. Lies information of certaine abuses in Sussex," being chiefly concerned with recusants in that county of whom the Dean of Battle was a leader. The actual date of the document from internal evidence is certainly some years earlier

than 1596. The report is included in the Collection of Burghley Papers in the British Museum, "*Lansdown MSS.* 82, 49." The passages relating to the Dean of Battle are as follows:—

“Since the L. Montagues coming to dwel at Battle, Religion in that countrey, and especially in that towne is greatly decayed: as may appeare by these fewe poyntes. D. Withen's Deane of Battle, where the La: Montague lyeth, is suspected to be very backward in religion, for this 2 yeares and more he neither ministreth the Com'union, nor receaveth it, but com'only if there be a Com'union he getteth some other to doe it and ether getteth himselfe out of the towne or keepeth his house. His wife cometh scarce twice a year to Church and receaveth not the Com'union; he hath a sonne and a daughter at man's estate, which never receaved the Com'union, his company wh. he keepeth is most with recusantes, especially one D. Gray, and one M. Terry. This Gray is a priest whom Sir Frauncys Walsingham co'mitted, and about a year ago he was confined, and now liveth in my Ladyes house, being suspected to doe much harme both with the Deane and other therabouts. Of late he hath found out an holy wel in Battle parke, whither many especially women resort like a young pilgrimage, and called D. Graye's wel. I have heard y^t ther hath bene above a score together there at evening prayer tyme on a Sunday. Terry was a schoolmaster in Battle, and had the bringing up of most of the gentlemen in that Countrey. He likewise was co'mitted (as I remember) by Sir Fr. Wals: and hath continued in prison till Lent last, and then came to Battle, wher he now dwelleth, a recusant: and is suspected to doe much harme. These two and the Deane are great companions. The jurisdiction of the place is in the Deane; wholly exempt from the Byshop's visitation, and is altogether neglected by him, so that they doe what the list. There are many in the towne that never receive the Co'munion, and come very seldome at Church.

On the other side of Battle Parke dwelleth Mr. Edmond Pelham, the chiefest justice of peace in that rape and ruleth most: who is very backward in religion, himselfe cometh to church but slakly: hath not this twelvemonth and more

receaved the Co'munion : his wife was a profest recusant, both when she dwelt at Battle, and wher they now dwel : but since the last parlament she hath bene at church : and now useth it twice or thrise a yeare, but she never receaveth the Co'munion : he hath two daughters maryed who never receaved the Co'munion, and come to church as the mother doth. He is chiefe of my Lo: Montague's counsel, and a great man with the Deane of Battle. There are many recusants frequent his house."

I am indebted to the courtesy of the present Very Reverend Dean of Battle for a rubbing of the Brass, here reproduced, and to Miss Kingsford, of Torfield House, Hastings, for some particulars of the man commemorated on it. Perhaps some member of our Society may be able to supplement this incomplete notice of one who should not be allowed to be omitted from the roll of Cheshire worthies.

The inscription on the brass, translated, is as follows :
" Here lies John Wythines, born in the famous City of Chester, and educated in the University of Oxford ; a Fellow of Brasennose College, Doctor of Divinity, Vice-Chancellor of the aforesaid University of Oxford, and Dean of this Church of Battel for 42 years. He died on the 18th day of March, in the 84th year of his age, and of man's salvation 1615.

" I lived so long as I willed.

I willed so long as Thou, O Christ, didst will.

Nor to me was my life [too] short or [too] long.

I live to Thee and die to Thee.

To Thee, Christ, shall I rise again.

Dead and living Thine I am and Thine I remain."



Obituary

THE LATE MR. JOHN WISEMAN

THE Chester Archæological Society has experienced a loss in the death of Mr. John Wiseman, of Dee Banks, Chester. Mr. Wiseman was in his early years associated with the late Alderman Johnson, of Broughton Hall, in the Dee Mills; but about thirty years ago he founded the Albion Mills, on the Canal Side, and has conducted them since that time with great energy and perseverance. He was always an enthusiast in antiquarian matters, and following whatever he took an interest in with zeal, he was rarely absent from the meetings of the Chester Archæological Society, walking down to the Grosvenor Museum from Dee Banks to attend them to within a short time of the commencement of his last illness. He had been for the last four years a Member of the Council of the Society, and was most punctual in his attendance at the business meetings. His health had somewhat failed during the year before he was taken seriously ill, but he followed his usual occupations even when his strength was not sufficient to allow him to do so with comfort. Mr. Wiseman had accumulated a very valuable library of Archæological works, amongst which were many county histories. On his return from the sea-side in August, 1896, he became seriously ill, and was obliged to give up active work. He bore his long illness, though often suffering greatly, with great patience, but gradually sank under it. He passed away on March 6th, 1897, and was interred in the Chester Cemetery on Wednesday, March 10th. The first part of the burial service was read in St. John's Church, with which Mr. Wiseman had been associated many years, and where he was Churchwarden in 1878 and 1879.



Miscellanea

WE publish as the Frontispiece of this part a *facsimile* of the valuable Deed relating to S. Werburgh's Abbey, which is in the possession of the Duke of Westminster. His Grace, with his usual interest so kindly evinced in matters archæological, has most generously given permission for its reproduction by photography. It is an Exemplification by Earl Randle Gernons of the gifts to the Abbey, and contains some very valuable information about the district then under the rule of the Palatine Earls. The Deed, which is in excellent preservation and beautifully transcribed, belongs most probably to the reign of Stephen, 1135-1154. A paper on it is contained in the first Volume of the old series of our Journal, but we hope to enter more fully upon the subject matter of the Deed in a future number.

DURING the progress of repairs to the Priory Buildings at Birkenhead, a most interesting find was made by Mr. George W. Haswell, of the firm of Messrs. W. Haswell & Son, of Chester. An excavation was being made, by direction of the Corporation of Birkenhead, to examine the condition of the foundations of the south gable of the Prior's Hall, when, amongst the *debris* being thrown out and wheeled away to level the churchyard adjoining, he discovered what now proves to be a fine and well preserved Noble of King Edward III. On the front is seen the King, crowned, standing in a



ship, holding in his hand a sword (which forms the mast), on his left arm a shield with the arms of England and France

quartered (sémé of fleur-de-lis), and the following inscription:—
EDWARD : DEI : GRA : REX : ANGL : DNS : HYB : & : AQ.



Englished, "Edward, by the Grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland and Aquitaine." The reverse is a beautifully designed cross, with floriated terminals surmounted by a fleur-de-lis, the angles filled in with a lion "passant gardant," and surmounted by a crown. Encircling the cross is the following legend:—
IHC : AUTEM : TRINCIENS :

P' : MEDIUM : ILLORŪ : IBAT. The free translation being, "But Jesus, passing through the midst of them, went His way." (St. Luke iv. 30.) The coin, which is of pure gold, measures $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter (a trifle larger than our modern penny), and weighs 119½ grains. Mr. Haswell, Junior, by special request, exhibited the coin to the members of our Society on March 16th.

WE have much pleasure in announcing that the Society of Antiquaries has appointed Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A., Local Honorary Secretary for Cheshire, in succession to the late Mr. J. P. Earwaker. Those who know the earnest interest which Mr. Taylor has taken in Archæology, and his wise and judicious treatment of matters referred to him, must congratulate the Society on having made an excellent selection of a representative in this County.





1896.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

*Submitted to the General Annual Meeting of Members, held
at the Grosvenor Museum, on Tuesday, the 14th July,
1896, at Five o'Clock.*

THE Council beg to submit their Annual Report to the Members of the Society.

During the last Session six Meetings have been held and the following Papers were read, viz. :—

October 21st, 1895.—Chairman : The Right Worshipful the Mayor of Chester. Subject—"The Hundred of Wirral : Historical and Picturesque" (illustrated by 100 Lantern Slides), by Mr. John Hargreaves.

November 18th, 1895.—Chairman : Dr. Henry Stolterfoth. Subject—"Parish Churches of Wirral," by Mr. W. Fergusson Irvine.

December 16th, 1895.—Chairman : The Venerable Archdeacon Barber. Subject—"Side-lights thrown on History by our English Silver Coinage," by Mr. F. W. Longbottom ; Illustrated by a series of Lantern Slides by Mr. J. D. Siddall.

January 20th, 1896.—Chairman : Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A. Subject—"Silchester" (dealing chiefly with the early history of the City and recent excavations), by

Mr. Theodore H. White, B.A., (President of the Reading Literary and Scientific Society); illustrated by Lantern Slides and Photographs taken on the spot.

February 24th, 1896.—Chairman: Dr. Henry Stolterfoth.
Subject—"Samuel Pepys and his Musick," by Dr. J. C. Bridge, M.A.; with Musical Illustrations

March 16th, 1896.—Chairman: Dr. Henry Stolterfoth.—
Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A., described and exhibited Six Early Chester Deeds (date 1275 to 1340) relating to Property in Northgate Street, near to St. Peter's Church;

Mr. E. Hodgkinson (Hon. Curator to the Society) exhibited Lantern Slides of "The Old King's Head Inn" (Randle Holmes' House), Lower Bridge Street, Chester, made from Photographs taken during the recent alterations to the premises;

Mr. R. Newstead, F.E.S. (Curator of the Grosvenor Museum) gave a description of the Red Glazed Pottery of the Romans; illustrated by Lantern Slides of specimens in the Society's Collection.

The thanks of the Society are due to the authors of these several Papers, upon the excellence of which the Council consider the Society is to be congratulated. It is, however, very much to be regretted that the attendance at several of these Meetings was not so large as it ought to have been.

The thanks of the Council are again due to Mr. J. D. Siddall for his ready assistance in illustrating most of the Papers.

At the Opening Meeting of the Session, which was presided over by the Mayor (Mr. W. H. Churton), occasion was taken to present the Rev. Canon Morris, D.D., F.S.A., Hon. Editorial Secretary, with a piece of Silver Plate, bearing the following inscription:—

"Presented to the Rev. Canon Rupert H. Morris, D.D., F.S.A., together with a Purse of Gold, by the Archæological Society and his friends, on his leaving Chester, 21st October, 1895."

The Council are glad to say that Canon Morris still retains his office as Hon. Editorial Secretary, and continues to take an active and warm interest in the work of the Society.

The Council regret to have to report a serious falling off in the number of the Members of the Society, which now stands at 196 as against 249 in the previous year. The Council hope that the individual Members will do their utmost to increase the numbers of the Society, and thus bring it up to its former strength.

The following gentlemen have been appointed to represent the Society upon the Grosvenor Museum Management Committee, viz.:—The Venerable Archdeacon Barber, Messrs. T. S. Gleadowe, E. Hodgkinson, A. Lamont, Henry Taylor, and J. Wiseman.

Under Rule IV., the following Members of the Council retire at the Annual Meeting, viz.:—Mr. E. W. Cox, Mr. Alderman Charles Brown, Rev. H. Grantham, Mr. Martin Stewart, Mr. Fergusson Irvine, and Mr. Alex. Lamont, and are eligible for re-election.

The Council suggest to the Members at their Annual Meeting, that the maximum number of the Council might be increased with advantage to the Society. They are also of opinion that steps should be taken to arrange an Excursion during the coming autumn.

By the death of Mr. T. J. Powell, a vacancy recently occurred in the office of General Secretary to the Society, which the Council have filled up by the appointment of Mr. Walter Conway, who for some time previously had acted for Mr. Powell.

The Hon. Treasurer's Statement of Accounts shews a balance of £40 1s. 5d. to the credit of the Society; but against this must be put the expenses attendant upon the publication of Part IV. of Vol. V., which was distributed in January last.

The attention of the Members is drawn to the Report of the Hon. Curator and Librarian ; and the Council desire to express warm thanks to the various donors of objects of interest presented during the year.

THE HON. CURATOR AND LIBRARIAN'S REPORT.

I have to report the following additions to the Society's Museum during the last year :—

Various items from Randle Holmes' House, Lower Bridge Street, Chester, by Mr. Wynne Jones, viz.—

<i>Piece of Verge Board of Original House ;</i>	
<i>Specimens of Wattle and Daub ;</i>	
<i>Plaster Coat of Arms from Chimney Piece, &c.</i>	
<i>Jar, containing Elizabethan Silver</i>	} Mr. H. Barnston.
<i>Coins, found at Trafford, 1895</i>	
<i>Collection of thirty Personal Medals -</i>	Mr. Thos. E. Tatton.
<i>Manual Punishment Mill from Cells,</i>	} Mr. Lanceley.
<i>Chester Castle - - -</i>	
<i>Elizabethan Wine Bottle and Drink-</i>	} Mrs. Hicks.
<i>ing Cup - - -</i>	
<i>Door Knocker from Brewer's Hall -</i>	Mr. Vernon.
<i>Stone Sculptured Corbel - - -</i>	Mrs. E. T. Siddall.
<i>Fragments of Samian Pottery -</i>	Mr. James Lowe.
<i>Silver Coin of Edward VI. - -</i>	Mr. Alfred Williams.

The Books added to the Library during the last twelve months consist chiefly of the transactions of kindred Societies, in exchange for our own ; and 28 volumes of the Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.

The cost of the fitting up of the new Room, which can hardly be considered yet complete, has been defrayed from the Special Fund raised for that purpose, and a Statement of the Accounts will be given in due course.

EDWD. HODKINSON,

Hon. Curator and Librarian.

CHESTER AND NORTH WALES ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORIC SOCIETY.

Statement of Receipts and Expenditure for the Year ending December 31st, 1895.

RECEIPTS.		£	s.	d.	EXPENDITURE.		£	s.	d.
To Balance in hand from last Account		40	3	4	By Grosvenor Museum Management Committee.....		60	0	0
„ Subscriptions—1894	£2 12 6				„ Printing, Postages, and Stationery		13	8	0
„ „ 1895	121 13 0				„ Secretary's Salary and Commission		16	14	11
„ „ 1896	2 12 6				„ Subscriptions to Archeological Societies and Books		7	2	0
		126	18	0	„ Museum Expenses		1	11	8
„ Dividend on £500 London and North Western		20	17	8	„ Publication of Vol. V., Parts 2 and 3		49	7	6
„ Railway Company's Stock		0	6	6			148	4	1
„ Sale of Old Journals					Balance in Bank		40	1	5
							£188	5	6

Examined with the Vouchers and found correct,

J. H. A. HALL, }
W. E. BROWN, }
HON. AUDITORS.

JOHN DODDS,
HON. TREASURER.

ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS.

The First Meeting of the Session was held at the Grosvenor Museum, on Monday, October 21st, 1895; the Mayor of Chester (W. H. Churton, Esq.) in the Chair. The occasion was taken advantage of to make a Presentation to Rev. Canon Morris, D.D., F.S.A., Honorary Editorial Secretary. The Venerable Archdeacon Barber called upon the Mayor to make the Presentation on behalf of the Archæological Society, and the many other friends of the worthy Canon in the City and neighbourhood. The Mayor then made the Presentation, and Canon Morris, who was warmly greeted, made a suitable reply.

The Testimonial consisted of a massive handsome silver fluted and gadroon kettle and stand, of the Georgian period, bearing the following inscription:—"Presented to Rev. Canon Rupert H. Morris, D.D., F.S.A., together with a Purse of Gold, by the Archæological Society and friends, on his leaving Chester, 21st October, 1895." It was supplied by Messrs. Lowe & Sons, Silversmiths, of this City, and was generally admired.

Mr. John Hargreaves delivered a Paper on "The Hundred of Wirral," Historical and Picturesque, illustrated by Lantern Slides, which proved very interesting.

At a Meeting of the Council held at the Grosvenor Museum, on November 18th, 1895; Dr. Stolterfoth in the Chair, it was

Resolved:—"That Mr. Percival Gamon, of St. Werburgh Street, Chester, be elected a Member of the Society."

Resolved:—"That Mr. Charles Blease, of Bridge Street Row, Chester, be elected a Member of the Society."

Resolved:—"That a vote of thanks be forwarded to Messrs. Lanceley & Son, of Chester, for the presentation of the Old Cranks from the Castle; also to Mr. Harry Barnston, of Crewe Hill, Farndon, for the presentation of Elizabethan

Coins; and to Dr. Wolstenholme, for the presentation of Roman Coins."

The Second Meeting of the Session was held in the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, on Monday, November 18th, 1895; Dr. Stolterfoth in the Chair. A Paper entitled "Parish Churches of Wirral" was read by Mr. W. Fergusson Irvine, illustrated with Lantern Slides by Mr. J. D. Siddall. A hearty vote of thanks to the Lecturer closed the proceedings.

The Third Meeting of the Session was held at the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, on Monday, December 16th, 1895; the Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair. A Lecture entitled "Sidelights thrown on History by our English Silver Coinage," by Mr. F. W. Longbottom, illustrated with Lantern Slides by Mr. J. D. Siddall, was greatly appreciated by all those present.

At a Meeting of the Council held at the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, on January 20th, 1897; Dr. Stolterfoth in the Chair, it was

Resolved:—"That Parts II. and III., Vol. V., be sent to Subscribers of 10/6, as well as to those of 21/-."

Mr. H. Taylor introduced Mr. Gill, Town Clerk of Birkenhead, to the Meeting, who spoke about the Priory, Birkenhead; and it was Proposed by Mr. Taylor, Seconded by Mr. Gleadowe, and

Resolved:—"That this Council respectfully beg to call the attention of the Town Council of Birkenhead, as the Governing Body of that Municipality, to the present condition of the Ancient Priory there, and would ask if the Corporation have any means at their disposal, whereby this fine Old Cheshire Historic Monument can be preserved, and rendered free of access for the benefit of the Burgesses of Birkenhead, and the public generally."

The Fourth Meeting of the Session was held at the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, on Monday, January 20th, 1896.

Mr. Theodore H. White, B.A., read a Paper entitled "Silchester," dealing chiefly with the early history of the City, and recent excavations, which were illustrated by Lantern Slides from Photographs taken on the spot.

The Fifth Meeting of the Session was held at the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, on February 24th, 1896; Dr. Stolterfoth in the Chair. A very interesting Lecture was given by Dr. J. C. Bridge, M.A., Organist of Chester Cathedral, on "Samuel Pepys and his Musick," illustrated with Musical Selections.

At a Meeting of the Council held at the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, on March 16th, 1896; Dr. Stolterfoth in the Chair:—A letter was read from Mr. E. J. Baillie, asking for the names of the gentlemen appointed to represent this Society on the Museum Management Committee for the present year, and it was

Resolved:—"That Messrs. H. Taylor, A. Lamont, T. S. Gleadowe, the Venerable Archdeacon Barber, J. Wiseman, and E. Hodgkinson, be appointed the gentlemen to represent the Society."

A letter was read from the Museum Management Committee, asking the Society for an increased call from £15 to £20 per quarter, and it was

Resolved:—"That the Treasurer be requested to pay the increased call."

Resolved:—"That a vote of sympathy be expressed with the Venerable Archdeacon Barber on the great trial of illness he has gone through, and hoping that we shall soon see him again in his accustomed place."

The Sixth Meeting of the Session was held in the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, on Monday, March 16th, 1896; Dr. Stolterfoth in the Chair. Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A., exhibited and shortly described Six Early Chester Deeds (date 1275-1340) relating to property in Northgate Street, near St. Peter's Church.

Mr. Edward Hodkinson (Hon. Curator to the Society) exhibited Lantern Slides of "The Old King's Head Inn" (Randle Holmes' House), Lower Bridge Street, Chester, made from Photographs taken during the recent alterations to the premises.

Mr. Robert Newstead, F.E.S. (Curator of the Grosvenor Museum), gave a description of the Red Glazed Pottery of the Romans, illustrated by Lantern Slides of Specimens in the Society's Collection.

The Papers proved very interesting, and a hearty vote of thanks to the Lecturers closed the proceedings.

At a Special Meeting of the Council, held at the Grosvenor Museum, on Tuesday, June 9th, 1896; Sir Horatio Lloyd in the Chair: the death of Mr. T. J. Powell, General Secretary of the Society, on May 30th, 1896, was reported, and Mr. E. Hodkinson was requested to write to Mrs. Powell and express their sympathy and the condolences of the Council on behalf of the Society in her bereavement.

Resolved :—"That Mr. Walter Conway be elected to fill the vacancy."

The date of the Annual General Meeting was fixed for the 14th July, at 5 p.m.

It was reported that the University Extension Class from Manchester visited Chester on the 6th June, under the guidanceship of Professor Boyd Dawkins and Professor Tout, and were met at the Museum by Mr. Henry Taylor, Mr. Alderman Charles Brown, Mr. Gleadowe, and Mr. E. Hodkinson.

Mr. Henry Taylor reported he had purchased the Minute Book of the Officer of the Grand Sessions of Chester, held in the Common Hall of Pleas, in the reign of George II., for 10/-.

Resolved :—"That Mr. A. L. Wood, of Grosvenor Street, Chester, and Mr. F. W. Longbottom, of Queen's Park, be elected Members of the Society."

At a Meeting of the Council, held at the Grosvenor Museum, on Tuesday, July 14th, 1896; Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A., in the Chair.

Resolved :—"That a proposition be submitted to the General Annual Meeting of Members—that the Members of the Council be increased from twelve to sixteen; and that Dr. J. C. Bridge and Mr. Longbottom be elected Members of the Council for the ensuing year; and also that the evening Meetings be altered from Monday to Tuesday."

Resolved :—"That the Sheriff of Chester (Mr. J. G. Holmes) take the Chair at the Annual General Meeting of Members."

General Annual Meeting of the Members of the Society, held in the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, on Tuesday, 14th July, 1896 :—Present : the Sheriff of Chester (Mr. J. G. Holmes) in the Chair, Dr. Stolterfoth, Mr. Lamont, Rev. S. C. Scott, Mr. H. Taylor, Mr. Hodgkinson, and the Secretary (Mr. Walter Conway.)

The Secretary read the notice convening the Meeting.

The Minutes of the last General Meeting of the Society, held May 22nd, 1895, were read, affirmed, and signed by the Chairman.

The Annual Report of the Council, also the Hon. Curator's and Librarian's Report, and the Hon. Treasurer's Statement of Accounts were read.

Resolved :—"That the Report of the Council, together with the Curator's and Librarian's Reports, and the Treasurer's Statement of Accounts, be, and the same are, hereby received and adopted."

The question of increasing the maximum number of the Council from twelve to sixteen was considered, and it was

Resolved :—"That the maximum number of the Council be increased from twelve to sixteen."

Resolved :—"That the following gentlemen be elected on the Council for the ensuing year—Mr. Alderman C. Brown, Mr. E. W. Cox, Rev. H. Grantham, Mr. Fergusson Irvine, Mr. A. Lamont, Dr. J. C. Bridge, and Mr. F. W. Longbottom."

Resolved :—"That Messrs. J. H. A. Hall and W. E. Brown be re-elected Honorary Auditors for the ensuing year."

Resolved :—"That a hearty vote of thanks be presented to the Patron, President, Vice-Presidents, Council, and Honorary Officers, for the able way in which they have conducted the affairs of the Society during the past year."

Resolved :—"That the best thanks of the Meeting be presented to the Donors of Books and objects of Antiquarian interest during the past year."

Resolved :—"That a cordial vote of thanks be presented to the Chairman for his urbanity in the Chair."

At a Meeting of the Council held at the Grosvenor Museum, on Saturday, October 3rd, 1896; Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A., in the Chair, the question of a driving Excursion was considered; and it was

Resolved :—"That a Day's Driving Excursion be arranged in the month of June next to Bunbury, Acton, and Nantwich; the details of which may be considered later."

It was reported that the British Association visited Chester from Liverpool on the 19th and 24th ultimo, and were received by Members of the Society.

Resolved :—"That the Rev. F. Tilney Stonex be elected a Member of the Society."

The First Meeting of the Session 1896-7 was held at the Lecture Theatre, Grosvenor Museum, Chester, on Tuesday, October 20th, 1896; Mr. Alderman Charles Brown in the Chair, when Dr. Brushfield delivered a very interesting Lecture upon "The Salmon Clause in Apprenticeship Indentures, with special reference to those of Chester."

At a Meeting of the Council, held at the Grosvenor Museum, on Tuesday, October 20th, 1896; Mr. Alderman Charles Brown in the Chair, it was

Resolved :—"That the thanks of the Society be presented to Mr. Frank Williams, of Brook Street, Chester, for his kind presentation of a Mediæval Vessel."

Resolved :—"That a copy of Mr. Fergusson Irvine's Book on 'The Registers of the Ancient Parish of Bebington' be purchased."

The Second Meeting of the Session was held in the Lecture Theatre, Grosvenor Museum, Chester, on Nov. 17, 1896; the Very Rev. The Dean of Chester (Dean Darby) in the Chair.

A Paper was given by Dr. J. C. Bridge, M.A., Organist of Chester Cathedral, on "Two Chester Madrigal Writers, Thomas Bateson and Francis Pilkington." The Lecturer was assisted by members of the Cathedral Choir, who sang several Glees and Madrigals written by Mr. Bateson and Mr. Pilkington.

At a Meeting of the Council, held at the Grosvenor Museum, on Tuesday, December 15th, 1896; Dr. Stolterfoth in the Chair. The Hon. Curator reported the following gifts to the Society, viz. :—

Roman Coin by Mr. James Rogers;

Roman Coins by Miss Nessie Brown;

Lock of the Old Northgate Prison by Mr. T. Mealing;

Roman Altar, recently discovered in St. Werburgh Street, on loan by Mr. F. Potts.

Resolved :—"That Mr. E. Gardner, of Northgate Street, Chester, be elected a Member of the Society."

The Third Meeting of the Session was held at the Grosvenor Museum, on Tuesday, December 15th, 1896, when a very interesting Paper entitled "A chat on the English Coins in the Society's Museum, with a few notes on

the gaps in the series," was read by F. W. Longbottom, Esq. The Paper was illustrated with Lantern Slides.

At a Meeting of the Council held at the Grosvenor Museum, on Wednesday, January 27th, 1897; Dr. Stolterfoth in the Chair, the Hon. Curator reported the following gifts to the Society, viz. :—

Mr. George Lowe—Fragments of Gold Corslet, now in the British Museum, and found at Mold in or about the year 1800.

Mr. F. W. Longbottom—Supposed Chester Mintage Silver Coins of William I.

The Fourth Meeting of the Session was held at the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, on Wednesday, January 27th, 1897; Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A., in the Chair. Professor T. F. Tout, M.A., the Owen's College, Manchester, late Fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford, and Professor of History at St. David's College, Lampeter, read a Paper entitled "Owen Glendower." To this Lecture Members of the Chester Welsh Society and Members of the Chester Natural Science Society were cordially invited.

At a Meeting of the Council, held at the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, on Tuesday, 16th March, 1897; the Very Rev. The Dean of Chester (Dean Darby) in the Chair. The death of Mr. John Wiseman, a Member of the Council, was reported, and it was

Resolved :—"That the Secretary be requested to express to Mrs. Wiseman the sympathy and condolences of the Council and the Society in her bereavement."

Mr. Henry Taylor reported that he had on offer to him several very valuable early Cheshire Deeds for the sum of £5, and Mr. Alderman Charles Brown very kindly offered to contribute that sum for their purchase, and present the same to the Society.

The final Meeting of the Session was held on Tuesday, March 16th, 1897, when Mr. T. S. Gleadowe, M.A.,

described some of the most interesting Roman Inscribed Stones in the Museum ; Mr. Newstead, F.E.S , shewed the Pre-historic and Saxon Remains ; Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A., exhibited some 12th and 13th Century Deeds relating to the early Hooton Family and the Stanlies ; also several early Chester Deeds not previously exhibited, all of which, it is hoped, will hereafter be printed and described in the Society's Journal ; Mr. G. W. Haswell exhibited a Gold Noble of the Reign of Edward III., recently found at Birkenhead Priory.

A hearty vote of thanks was given to the gentlemen taking part in the proceedings.

At a Meeting of the Council held at the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, on April 29th, 1897, Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A., in the Chair, the following gentlemen were elected Representatives of the Council upon the Museum Management Committee, viz:—The Venerable Archdeacon Barber, Mr. A. Lamont, Mr. T. S. Gleadowe, Mr. E. Hodgkinson, Mr. Henry Taylor and Mr. F. W. Longbottom.





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NOTE.

The value of this Index to archæologists is now recognised. Every effort is made to keep its contents up to date and continuous, but it is obvious that the difficulties are great unless the assistance of the societies is obtained. If for any reason the papers of a society are not indexed in the year to which they properly belong the plan is to include them in the following year; and whenever the papers of societies are brought into the Index for the first time they are then indexed from the year 1891.

By this means it will be seen that the year 1891 is treated as the commencing year for the Index and that all transactions published in and since that year will find their place in the series.

To make this work complete an index of the transactions from the beginning of archæological societies down to the year 1890 needs to be published. This Index is already completed in MS. form and it will be printed as soon as arrangements can be made.

Societies will greatly oblige by communicating any omissions or suggestions to

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Burlington House, London, W.

Single copies of the yearly Index may be obtained. Many of the societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries take a sufficient number of copies to issue with their transactions to each of their members. The more this plan is extended the less will be the cost of the Index to each society. For particulars of this and other works now being carried on by the societies in union application should be made to the Honorary Secretary,

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FOLKLORE: *Abercromby, Amery, Andrews, Ashton, Barnes, Barrett, Billson, Black, Browne, Burne, Carmichael, Clodd, Colgan, Cook, Craigie, Crawley, Crombie, Cuming,*

Dowden, Evans, Feilberg, Ferguson, Gerish, Godden, Green, Gregor, Groome, Hore, Kelly, Kerry, Lang, Lewis, Mackinlay, MacLagan, Neilson, Newton, Nielsen, Offord, Owen, Paton, Phené, Rhys, Rouse, Sephton, Taylor, Thursby-Pelham, W., Watters, Witchburning, Wood, Woodman.

French antiquities : *Bower.*

Galway : *Cooke, Kelly.*

Genealogies and family history : *Armstrong, Attree, Balfour, Berkshire, Betham, Bulwer, Campbell, Cowper, Crawford, Doe, Ebbelwhite, Essex, F., Field, Fitzgerald-Uniacke, Fletcher, Grave, Gray, Greenfield, Haslewood, Hawkesbury, Hickson, Langdon, Leighton, Maclean, Malden, Minns, Murphy, Myddleton, Phillips, Prowse, Rumbold, Stavert, Wagner.*

Glasgow : *Eyre.*

Glastonbury : *Bradley.*

Glenshee : *Smith.*

Gloucestershire : *See "Bristol," "Glastonbury," "Horton," "Sudeley Castle."*

Gower : *Thomas.*

Great Cressingham : *Birch.*

Greek antiquities : *Arkwright, Benson, Bienkowski, Bury, Clarke, Cook, G., Gardner, Hill, Hutton, Jevons, Lloyd, Loring, Murray, Oldfield, Penrose, Phené, Rendall, Simpson, Smith. See "Homer," "Inscriptions," "Literary antiquities," "Numismatics."*

Hampshire : *Shore. See "Bitterne," "Kingsclere," "Nursling," "St. Denys," "Silchester," "Southampton," "Weyhill," "Stoke Charity," "Westwood Sparsholt."*

Hampton : *Rice.*

Hardknot : *Calverley.*

Hartlepool : *Hodgson.*

Hastings : *Duckett.*

Hauxley : *Hodgson.*

Haverfordwest : *Phillips.*

Henry I. (*temp.*) : *Liebermann.*

Heraldry : *Hope, Howard.*

Hertfordshire. *See "St. Albans," "Tyttenhanger," "Verulam."*

High Ercall : *Vane.*

Hill Deverill : *Powell.*

Hinton Charterhouse : *Foxcroft.*

Homer : *Allen.*

Honduras (British) : *Gann.*

Horton : *Hodges.*

Huggate dikes : *Cole.*

Hulham : *Reichel.*

Hull : *Blashill, Boyle, Hirst, Hope, Hull.*

Inscriptions

Christian : *Langdon.*

Eastern : *Fryer.*

Greek : *Loring.*

Ireland : *Fitzgerald, Macalister.*

Manx : *Kermode.*

Ogam : *Barry, Graves, Rhys, Southesk.*

Roman : *Blair, Ferguson, Money, Mowat.*

Runic : *Charlton.*

Welsh : *Rhys.*

Institutions : *Browning, Cole.*

Ireland : *Bagnall-Oakeley, Browne, Buick, Coffey, Knowles, MacNeill, Pflugk Hartung, Rhys, Stokes. See "Aran," "Athenry," "Barren," "Castledermot," "Connaught (Old)," "Cork," "Dublin," "Ennis," "Galway," "Kilkenny," "Kilmacduagh," "Kilmalkedar," "Loughcrew," "Maghera," "Mullaghmast," "Navan," "Roscam," "Slieve-na-Caillighe," "Tara," "Templepatrick," "Wexford."*

Iron age (early) : *Curle.*

Iron work : *Rice.*

James I. (*temp.*) : *Craigie.*

James II. (*temp.*) : *Earwaker.*

Jews : *Leonard.*

Kent : *See "Canterbury," "Otham," "Wouldham."*

Kildare : *Macalister, Vigors.*

Kilkenny : *Barry, Egan, Vigors.*

Kilmacduagh : *Fahey.*

Kilmalkedar : *Olden.*

King's evil (the) : *Barnes.*

Kingsclere : *Shore.*

Kingston on Hull : *See "Hull."*

Kirkby Ireleth : *Cowper.*

Kirkcudbright : *Coles.*

Korea : *Gowland.*

Lancashire : *Axon, Cox, Fishwick, Gray, Phené, Stanning, Sweny. See "Cartmel," "Colton," "Farn-*

- worth," "Kirkby Ireleth," "Liverpool," "Lydiat," "Manchester," "Oldham," "Salford," "Warrington," "Whalley."
- Law, antiquities of: *Roper*.
- Leicestershire: *Hartopp*. See "Saxby," "Shawell."
- Lewis (Isle of): *Abercromby*.
- Lichfield: *Russell*.
- Literary antiquities: *Offord*.
Greek: *Allen, Birch, Clark, Dewick, Knighton, Oman, Schuster*.
Roman: *Knighton*.
Saxon: *Lithgow*.
See "Bibliography."
- Liverpool: *Sweny*.
- Londesborough: *Wilton*.
- London: *London, Micklethwaite, Price*.
- Loughcrew Hills: *Frazer*.
- Ludlow: *Weyman*.
- Lydiat: *Powell, Taylor*.
- Lynelham: *Conder*.
- Lynn: *Beloe, Le Strange*.
- Maghery: *Dugan*.
- Malmesbury: *Malmesbury, Whale*.
- Man (Isle of): *Collingwood, Kermod*.
See "Inscriptions."
- Manchester: *Earwaker, Hooppell*.
- Manorial history: *Davis, Earwaker, Hone, Prince, Reichel*.
- Maristow: *Radford*.
- Marlborough: *Ponting*.
- Mary (Q.) temp.: *Hodgson, Wilson*.
- Mary (Q. of Scots): *Reid*.
- Meaux: *Cox*.
- Melbourne: *Fane*.
- Mendip: *Hobhouse*.
- Merchants' marks: *Maclean*.
- Mexican antiquities: *Read*.
- Middlesex
"Hampton."
"South Mimms."
- Mildenhall: *Waller*.
- Military antiquities: *Appleton, Carrington*.
- Mining: *Cox*.
- Monasticism: *Boot, Hall*.
- Montgomeryshire: *Montgomeryshire, Owen, Thomas*.
- Monuments, effigies and tombs: *Birch, Brydall, Egan, Greenfield, Langdon, Micklethwaite, Morrison, Stephenson, Talbot, Thomas, Watson, Westropp, Williams*.
- Morpeth: *Woodman*.
- Mullaghmast: *Fitzgerald*.
- Municipal antiquities: *Boyle, Cunningham, Eyre, Hope, King, Le Strange, Russell, Taylor*.
- Musical antiquities: *Hope, Menzies*.
- Navan: *Moore*.
- Navigation: *Wells*.
- Necton: *Birch*.
- New Hebrides: *O'Reilly*.
- Newcastle: *Embleton, Phillips*.
- Newtown: *Owen*.
- Norfolk: *Beloe, Hudson, Manning*.
See "Castleacre," "Castle Rising," "Coulton," "Eccles," "Great Cressingham," "Lynn," "Necton," "Norwich," "Shelton," "Terrington."
- Norse remains: *Acland*.
- Northamptonshire: *Irvine*.
- North Perrot: *Batten*.
- Northumberland: *Hardy, Hodgson, Northumberland, Percy*. See "Amble," "Berwick," "Chirburn," "Hauxley," "Morpeth," "New castle," "Temple Thornton," "Walltown."
- Norway: *Lowe*.
- Norwich: *Bensley, Hudson*.
- Notarial marks: *Freshfield*.
- Numismatics: *Barker, Bramble, Cramond, Ellis, Hudd, Martin, Shaw, Weber*.
- Asiatic: *Codrington, Lowsley*.
- English: *Lawrence, Montagu, Oman, Packe*.
- Greek: *Hill, Imhoof-Blumer, Ridgeway, Six, Wroth*.
- Irish: *Frazer*.
- Mints: *Bramble, Evans*.
- Roman: *Bagnall-Oakeley, Grueber, Haverfield, Montague, Pritchard*.
- Nursling: *Greenfield*.
- Oban: *Anderson, Turner*.
- Okehampton: *Worth*.
- Oldham: *Andrew*.
- Otham: *Cave-Browne*.
- Oxfordshire: *Evans, Read*. See "Lyneham," "Shirburn."
- Oyster-shell lamps: *Thomas*.
- Papingo: *Ker*.
- Pembrokeshire: *Owen*.
- Place-names: *Atkinson, Collingwood, Coulton, Owen*.
- Plague (the): *Aron*.
- Pocklington: *Leadman*.

- Pontefract: *Holmes*.
 Pottery: *Michell-Whitley*.
 Prehistoric antiquities: *Anderson, Barron, Bogle, Buick, Coffey, Coles, Dawson, Ferguson, Frazer, Gowland, Haggart, Hardy, Hudd, Kinghorn, Knowles, Lasham, Lewis, Newton, Rendall, Robertson, Rotherham, Shore, Williams*.
 Registers: *Coleman, Grave, Harper, Lumb, Sykes*.
 Renfrewshire: *Mackinlay*.
 Ringmer: *Martin*.
 Roads: *Beloe, Deans, Hooppell, MacDonald, Marsh, Russell, Tatham*.
 Roman antiquities: *Arnold, Bagnall-Oakeley, Bates, Blair, Brock, Calverley, Cox, Ellis, Ferguson, Fox, Fryer, Goddard, Hall, Haverfield, Hooppell, Jacob, Laidlaw, MacDonald, Marsh, Page, Sheraton, Williams*. See "Inscriptions," "Literary antiquities." "Numismatics."
 Rome: *Lanciani, Russell-Forbes*.
 Roscam: *Wakeman*.
 Rose (the): *André*.
 Roseisle: *Morrison*.
 Ross: *Bagnall-Oakeley*.
 Roxburghshire: *Deans*.
 Rutherglen: *Eyre*.
 Rye: *Inderwick*.
 St. Albans: *Page*.
 St. Denys: *Skelton*.
 St. Fillan: *Mackinlay*.
 St. Lucia: *Mackinlay*.
 St. Ninian: *Dowden*.
 Salford: *Mackinson*.
 Salisbury: *Harding*.
 Saxby: *Cox*.
 Saxon period: *Beddoe, Cox, Goddard, Housman, Read*. See "Literary antiquities."
 Scorbrough: *Mortimer*.
 Scotland: *Acland, Bogle, Brydall, Christison, Craigie, Cramond, MacDonald*. See "Abernethy," "Annandale," "Ardoch," "Bothwell," "Cappuck," "Dunvegan," "Glasgow," "Glenshee," "Kirkcudbright," "Lewis," "Oban," "Renfrewshire," "Roseisle," "Roxburghshire," "Rutherglen," "Shetland," "Taymouth," "Tillicoultry," "Traquair."
 Seals: *Batten, Eyre, Hope, Vigors, Ware, Warren, Wyon*.
 Segontium: *Sheraton*.
 Selattyn: *Bulkeley-Owen*.
 Shamrock (the): *Bardan*.
 Shawell: *Bates*.
 Shelton: *Armstrong*.
 Shetland: *Barron, Kinghorn*.
 Shirburn: *Money*.
 Shrawardine: *Auden*.
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 Shropshire: *F., Stephenson*. See "Berrington," "High Ercall," "Ludlow," "Selattyn," "Shrawardine," "Shrewsbury," "Whitchurch."
 Silchester: *Fox, Grueber, Haverfield*.
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 Sledmere: *Mortimer*.
 Slieve-na-Caillighe: *Rotherham*.
 Somersetshire. See "Bath," "Hinton Charterhouse," "Mendip," "North Perrot," "Tickenham," "Wraxall."
 South Mimms: *Davis*.
 South Shields: *Blair*.
 Southampton: *Grave*.
 Sports: *Knighton*.
 Staffordshire. See "Lichfield."
 Stocks: *Nicholson*.
 Stoke Charity: *Greenfield*.
 Stone circles: *Coles, Evans*.
 Sudbury: *Simpson*.
 Sudeley Castle: *Brock*.
 Suffolk: *Betham, Hamp, Hopper, Jones, Manning, Powell*. See "Brettenham," "Mildenhall," "Sudbury," "Waldingfield."
 Surrey: *Ashcombe, Bax, Cooper, Crisp, Howard, Lasham, Malden*.
 Sussex: *André, Attree, Crake, Dunkin, Prince, Read*. See "Bexhill," "Eastbourne," "Hastings," "Ringmer," "Rye," "Towncreep."
 Swallowfield: *Russell*.
 Swedish antiquities: *Curle, Simpson*.
 Tara: *McDonald*.
 Tasmania: *Taylor*.
 Taymouth: *Mackenzie*.
 Temple Thornton: *Hodgson*.
 Templepatrick: *Latimer*.
 Terra del Fuego: *Hodgson*.
 Terrington: *Secombe*.
 Tickenham: *Pritchard*.
 Tillicoultry: *Robertson*.
 Torbay: *Karkeek*.
 Towers (round): *Wakeman*.
 Towncreep: *Napper, Tatham*.

Traquair : *Russell*.

Travels in Britain : *Bulow*.

Tyttenhanger : *Fowler*.

Upper Upham : *Brakspear*.

Valle Crucis : *Hughes, Owen*.

Verulam : *Page*.

Vienne : *Lewis*.

Vortipore, tombstone of : *Laws, Rhys*.

Waldingfield : *Haslewood, Stokes*.

Wales : *Baker, Birch, Fisher, Nevins, Rhys, Vaughan-Williams, Williams, Willis-Bund*. See "Anglesey,"

"Bangor," "Caer-Hên-Eglwys,"

"Caerwent," "Carmarthenshire,"

"Conway," "Cwmhir," "Flint-

shire," "Gower," "Haverfordwest,"

"Montgomeryshire," "Newtown,"

"Pembrokeshire," "Valle Crucis."

Wallingford : *Field*.

Walltown : *Hall*.

Warrington : *Irvine, Madeley*.

Westley Waterless : *Atkinson*.

Westmorland : *Ferguson, Hodgson, Wilson*.

Westwood Sparsholt : *Jacob*.

Wetwang : *Cole*.

Wexford : *Cullen, Perceval*.

Weyhill : *Clutterbuck*.

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Whitchurch : *Finch*.

Wight (Isle of) : *Davis*.

Willingham : *James, Watkins*.

Wills : *Berkshire, Crisp, Hartopp*.

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Down," "Hill Deverill," "Malmes-

bury," "Marlborough," "Salis-

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Winestead : *Moore*.

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Wissey river : *Coulton*.

Witton-le-Wear : *Hodgson*.

Wouldham : *Lang*.

Wraxall : *Barker, Franks*.

Yorkshire : *Cartwright, Cox, Glynne, Norcliffe, Skiffe, Taylor*. See

"Beverley," "Driffild," "Dripole,"

"Huggate," "Hull," "Londes-

borough," "Meaux," "Nicholson,"

"Pocklington," "Pontefract,"

"Scorborough," "Sledmere,"

"Wetwang," "Winestead."

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Congress of Archæological Societies.

In union with the Society of Antiquaries.

INDEX OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL PAPERS PUBLISHED FROM 1682-1890.

By G. L. GOMME, F.S.A.

THE records of British Archæology are scattered through the transactions of so many Societies, that the need for a collected Index has long been felt. The formation of the Congress of Archæological Societies in 1888 led to the first important step being taken in 1891, namely the compilation of a yearly Index. This Index has been compiled and issued for each of the years 1891 to 1895 inclusive, and is admittedly of great value to the cause of Archæological research.

To make it complete, however, the Index from the beginning of the Royal Society in 1682 up to 1890 is needed.

This Index has been compiled up to 1885 and prepared for the press by MR. GOMME, who has offered the use of his MSS. to the Congress. It is now proposed to complete the work for the years 1886 to 1890, and to issue the entire Index, 1682 to 1890, to subscribers.

The Index consists of a transcript of the titles of papers contributed to every Archæological Society and other Societies publishing archæological material, in the United Kingdom.

These titles are arranged in proper bibliographical form, under authors' names in alphabetical order. To this is added an exhaustive Subject Index.

To those who are acquainted with the valuable material which is stored in the transactions of Societies, the value of this work will be at once apparent, and it is hoped that sufficient subscriptions will be forthcoming to issue the volume at an early date.

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SECOND REPORT
OF THE COMMITTEE
FOR PROMOTING THE
TRANSCRIPTION AND PUBLICATION
OF
PARISH REGISTERS,
WITH CALENDAR OF REGISTERS

Printed and transcribed since the first Report of 1892.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE CONGRESS OF
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES IN UNION WITH THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.

1896

CONGRESS OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES.

Report of the Parish Register Committee, 1896.

The Committee in issuing the present supplement to their Report and Lists of 1892 have great pleasure in calling attention to the large increase in the number of Transcripts made; many of these, there is reason to believe, owe their existence to the help and stimulus given by the former report.

It is to be noted that a large number of the Transcripts have been made for the use of the various Parishes, and will therefore be accessible to the public.

It appears to the Committee that the evidence supplied by this supplemental List shows that the supposed impossibility of ever transcribing the whole of the Parish Registers of the Kingdom is imaginary, and that by enlisting and encouraging local effort, the very desirable object may be obtained at no great distance of time.

The list of Transcribers' names shows how much may be done by individual workers, and much more might easily be done by some organised effort by Diocesan authorities.

The Committee hail with satisfaction the successful formation of a Society for printing Parish Registers, under the patronage of the Archbishops and many of the Bishops. The Hon. Sec. is E. A. Fry, Esq., of 172, Edmund Street, Birmingham, who will be happy to give any information on the subject. The Society has already issued five Registers in return for the annual guinea subscription, and in the event of an increase in the number of subscribers will be able to print more Registers annually. In cases where some local help can be guaranteed, special arrangements can be made for printing Registers.

Mr. W. P. W. Phillimore (124, Chancery Lane) is also printing a series of complete Marriage Registers of Counties. Those of Gloucestershire are now being printed, and others for Hants, Kent, Northants, Notts, and Somerset are in active preparation. It is intended to arrange for other Counties.

Mr. Wm. Brigg, B.A. (Harpenden, Herts.), is printing in the "Herts. Genealogist" a useful series of Bishops' Transcripts for the periods for which the Parish Registers are lost.

It is gratifying to find that, at the instance of the Diocesan Conferences of St. Alban's and Worcester, Committees have been formed to obtain from all Incumbents in the Dioceses returns of the Registers existing in their Parishes, their exact dates and condition.

An effort will then be made to get the books put into proper repair.

The Rev. O. W. Tancock, of Little Waltham Rectory, Chelmsford, is Hon. Sec. of the St. Alban's Committee, and E. A. Fry, Esq., of the Worcester, and either of these gentlemen will be glad to answer enquiries as to their method of work, so that a uniform plan may be adopted in other Dioceses.

The St. Alban's "Diocesan Quarterly" for the past quarter (No. 15, price 3d. post free, W. Root, Halstead, Essex) contains an account of what has been done in the St. Alban's Diocese.*

It is to be hoped that an effort will afterwards be made to get all the Registers transcribed and indexed, and copies kept in the Parish for reference. A small fee should be agreed upon as to be charged for consultation of the Transcript for purposes of Genealogical research, the charge for certified extracts from the original Registers remaining, of course, as at present.

The Committee are again indebted to Geo. W. Marshall, LL.D. (Rouge Croix) for his revision of the list of Printed Registers. The somewhat arduous labour of compiling and editing the Calendar has been undertaken by Ralph Nevill, F.S.A. the Hon. Sec. of the Committee, and E. A. Fry, the Hon. Sec. of the Parish Register Society.

All who may publish to transcribe Registers in future are invited to send particulars to either of the above named gentlemen, who have undertaken to compile the next List.

RALPH NEVILL, *Hon. Sec.*

13, Addison Crescent,
Kensington.

The particulars obtained of the Registers of Herts. will be printed in Middlesex and Herts. Notes and Queries, commencing January, 1897 (Messrs. Hardy & Page, 44, Chancery Lane, W.C.).

* *The Worcester Diocesan Mag. for December, 1896 (Midland Education Co., Corporation Street, Birmingham, price 2½d. post free), contains a similar Report for the Worcester Diocese.*

The First Report of the Committee, issued in 1892, contains advice as to the transcription and publication of Registers, and a specimen alphabet of the characters chiefly used.

There are also Calendars of all Registers known to have been transcribed or printed up to the date of issue. The Calendars here given are supplementary to those in the First Report.

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 „ No. 3.—Parish Registers transcribed in MS.
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 „ No. 5.—Sundry Records of allied character.
-

No. 1.—List of Parish Registers that have been printed as separate works.

- BERKS. READING, St. Giles, 1518–1546, Walter L. Nash.
 CHESHIRE. BIDSTONE, 1581–1700, W. F. Irvine.
 STOCKPORT, St. Mary, 1584–1620, E. W. Bulkely 1889
 CORNWALL. REDRUTH, 1560–1716, J. C. Peter, Redruth 1894, 4to
 CUMBERLAND. DALSTON, vol. i. 1570–1678, vol. ii. 1679–1812, Rev.
 J. Wilson, M.A., 1893 and 1896. Indexed, with
 corrections from Bishops' transcripts.
 KIRK OSWALD, 1577–1609, Canon Thornley 1895, 8vo
 PENRITH, 1556–1601, G. Watson 1893, 8vo
 DORSETS. BERE HACKETT, 1549–1745, E. A. Fry, Par. Reg. Soc.
 1896, 8vo
 CAUNDLE BISHOP, 1570–1814, Rev. Canon C. H. Mayo
 (Dorset Records) 1895, 8vo
 HOLNEST, 1589–1812, E. A. Fry (Dorset Records)
 1894, 8vo
 LONG BURTON, 1580–1812, E. A. Fry (Dorset Records)
 1894, 8vo
 DURHAM. DURHAM CATHEDRAL, 1609–1896, Harl. Soc. (in press).
 ESSEX. FYFIELD, 1538–1700, F. A. Crisp, F.S.A., pr. 1896, fol.
 GLO'STERS. MARSHFIELD, 1558–1793, F. A. Crisp, F.S.A., pr.
 KENT. BEAKESBOURNE, 1558–1812, Rev. C. H. Wilkie, pr.
 dmy. 8vo
 ORPINGTON, 1560–1754, H. C. Kirby Lond. 1895, 8vo
 LANCS. HAWKSHEAD, 1568–1794, H. Swainson Cooper, F.S.A.
 dmy. 8vo
 LINCOLNS. HORBLING, 1653–1837, H. Peet Liverpool, 1895, 8vo

- LONDON. CHARTERHOUSE CHAPEL, Bap. 1696-1836, Mar. 1671-1754 and 1837-1890, Bur. 1695-1854, Francis Collins, M.D., Harl. Soc., vol. xviii.
 CHRISTCHURCH, Newgate Street, 1538-1754, W. A. Little-dale, M.A., Harl. Soc., vol. xxi.
 ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, Mayfair, Bap. 1740- and Mar. 1735-1754 (wrongly entered in last list), George J. Armytage, F.S.A., Harl. Soc., vol. xv.
 ST. GEORGE'S, Hanover Square, Mar. 1810-1836 (in press), Harl. Soc.
 ST. JAMES', Clerkenwell, Bur. 1551-1754, Robt. Hovenden, F.S.A., Harl. Soc., vol. xvii., xix., and xx.
- NORFOLK. NORWICH, St. George's Tombland, 1538-1707.
- NORTHANTS. MAXEY, 1538-1712, Rev. W. D. Sweeting, M.A. (Mitchell & Hughes) 1892, 8vo
- NOTTS. WELLOW, 1703-1812, Geo. W. Marshall, LL.D. Exeter, 1896, 8vo
 WORKSOP, 1558-1771, Geo. W. Marshall, LL.D. Guildford, 1894, 8vo
- RUTLAND. NORTH LUFFENHAM, 1572-1812, Rev. P. J. Dennis, Par. Reg. Soc. 1896, 8vo
- SOMERSET. BRUTON, 1826-1890, Rev. T. A. Strong.
- SUFFOLK. BARDWELL, 1538-1650, Rev. F. E. Warren, F.S.A. (Mitchell & Hughes).
 BRAMFIELD, 1539-1889, Rev. T. S. Hill (Mitchell & Hughes).
- SURREY. BANSTEAD, 1547-1789, F. H. Lambert, F.S.A., Par. Reg. Soc. 1896, 8vo
- WARWICKS. FILLONGLEY, 1538-1653, Rev. A. B. Stevenson.
- WESTMORELAND. ASBY, 1657-1798, T. R. Rivington 1894, 8vo
 RAVENSTONEDALE, 1570-1812, Rev. R. W. Metcalfe 1893, 8vo
- WORCESTERS. KNIGHTWICK WITH DODDENHAM, 1538-1812, Rev. J. Bowstead-Wilson, F.S.A. 1891, small fol.
 WORCESTER, St. Alban's, 1630-1812, Rev. J. Bowstead-Wilson, Par. Reg. Soc. 1896, 8vo
- YORKS. BATLEY, 1559-1800, M. Sheard.
 BOLTON ABBEY, 1689-1812, Rev. A. P. Howes, M.A. Skipton, 1895, 8vo
 BURNSALL, vol. i. 1559-1700, vol. ii. 1701-1739 and 1783-1812, Rev. W. J. Stavert, M.A. Skipton, 1893, 8vo
 CONISTONE, 1567-1812, Rev. W. J. Stavert, M.A. Skipton, 1894, 8vo
 FELKIRK, 1701-1812, A. N. J. Royds, Rochdale, 1894, 8vo
 MONK FRYSTON, 1538-1678, Par. Reg. Soc. 1896, 8vo

- YORKS. RYLSTONE, vol. i. 1559-1723, vol. ii. 1724-1812, Rev.
 (continued) C. H. Lowe, M.A. Leeds, 1895-6, 8vo
 SADDLEWORTH, 1613-1751, J. Radcliffe 1887, 8vo
 SKIPTON-IN-CRAVEN, vol. i. 1592-1680, vol. ii. 1680-1745,
 vol. iii. 1745-1812, Rev. W. J. Stavert, M.A.
 Skipton, 1894-6, 8vo
 YORK, Holy Trinity, 1586-1760, Rev. E. Bulmer (in
 progress).
 YORK, St. Martin-cum-Gregory, 1538-1745, Rev. E.
 Bulmer (in progress).

No. 2.—List of Parish Registers printed in books and periodicals.

- BERKS. DIDCOT, Bap. 1562-1647, Berks Notes and Queries, Oct.
 1890, to April 1891.
- CAMBRIDGES. CAMBRIDGE, St. Michael, 1538-1837, J. Venn,
 Camb. Antiqu. Soc., vol. xxv. (complete part)
 1891, 8vo
- CHESHIRE. STOCKPORT, Cheshire Notes and Queries.
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* The Glo'ster Marriage Registers are being printed in Glo'ster Notes and Queries, and will be issued in volumes, the first of which is now complete. See Preface.

- HANTS. ASHE, Rev. J. Thoyts, Par. Hist. of Ashe,
Clowes & Sons 1888
- HERTS. CHIPPING BARNET, Bishops' Transcripts for sundry years,
missing from Par. Reg., 1569-1682, Wm. Brigg,
B.A., Herts. Genealogist, vol. ii.
NORTHAW, Bps. Trans., sundry years, 1564-1748, Herts.
Geneal., vols. i. and ii.
ST. ALBAN'S ABBEY, 1558-1689, Wm. Brigg, B.A., Herts.
Geneal. Supplement.
ST. ALBAN'S, St. Michael's in, Bps. Trans., sundry years
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ST. ALBAN'S, St. Stephen's in, Bps. Trans., sundry years,
1561-1600, Herts. Geneal., vol. i.
WIGGINTON, Bps. Trans., sundry years, 1609-1670, Herts.
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- LINCOLNS. KINGERBY, 1562-1760 (in progress in Northern Genea-
logist), Bishop's Transcript.
- MIDDLESEX. CHISWICK, Mar. 1678-1800 (in "Chiswick"), W. P. W.
Phillimore.
- NORTHANTS. CLAY COTON, 1541- (in progress, Northern
Genealogist).
MAXEY, 1538-1712, Rev. W. D. Sweeting, M.A.,
Mis. Gen. et Herald. (See also List 1.)
- NORTHUMBERLAND. ELSDON, 1672- , Proc. Soc. Antiqu., New-
castle-on-Tyne (in progress).
WARKWORTH, Bap. and Mar. 1688, Bur. 1674, J. C.
Hodgson, Proc. Soc. Antiqu., Newcastle-on-Tyne (in
progress).
- NOTTS. NEWARK, Mar. 1650-1662, Northern Genealogist.
OLLERTON, 1592-1812, G. W. Marshall, LL.D., The
Genealogist.
WELLOW, 1703-1812, G. W. Marshall, LL.D., The
Genealogist.
- SOMERSET. STREET, 1599- (in progress in The Genealogist).
- SUFFOLK. FRESTON, 1538-1894, Rev. C. R. Durrant, "Life in a
Suffolk village," 1887-91.
- WARWICKS. SOUTHAM, 1539-Bap. 1633, Mar. 1657, Bur. 1647,
W. Gardner, Hist. Notices of Southam 1895, 4to
- WORCESTERS. INKBERROW, 1675-1778, Rev. T. N. Leeke, Par. Mag.
NORTHFIELD, 1560-1576, W. F. Carter, Par. Mag.
ROUS LENCH, 1538- , Rev. Dr. Chafy Chafy, Par. Mag.
- YORKS. LEEDS, St. Peter's, 1572-1612, Rev. E. Cookson, Thoresby
Society.
STARTFORTH, 1661-1691 (in progress in Northern
Genealogist).
WHITKIRK, 1603-1700, J. W. Morkill, M.A., Records
of Whitkirk Leeds, 1892
-

No. 3.—List of MS. Transcripts.

Those marked "Par." are in the custody of the Clergy for Parish use.

- BEDFORDS. BIGGLESWADE, 1562–1598, John Powell.
- BERKS. BISHAM, 1560–1845, Edgar Powell.
 DIDCOT, Bap. 1562–1678, Mar. 1571–1674, Bur. 1568–1681, G. Tudor Sherwood.
 UPTON-NEAR-BLEWBURY, &c., 1588–1741, J. F. Fry.
- CAMBRIDGES. BABRAHAM, 1561–, Rev. T. D. Gray (in progress).
 CAMBRIDGE, All Saints', 1538–1702, C. L. Acland (in progress).
- CHESHIRE. BARROW-BY-TARVIN, Bap. 1572–1623, Mar. 1590–1619, Bur. 1572–1622, mixed 1629–1679, T. Cann Hughes, M.A.
 CHESTER CATHEDRAL, 1687–1871, T. Hughes, F.S.A.
 CHESTER, St. John's, Bap. and Mar. 1599–1626, Bur. 1661–1723, T. Cann Hughes, M.A.
 „ St. Oswald's, 1580–1650, T. Cann Hughes, M.A.
 „ St. Peter's, T. Cann Hughes, M.A.
 NORTHENDEN, T. Cann Hughes, M.A.
 OVERCHURCH, *i.e.*, UPTON, 1660–1812, W. F. Irvine.
 SWETTENHAM, 1570–1820, Cyril Lockett.
 WARBURTON, 1611–1752, Rev. G. Egerton-Warburton, M.A.
- CUMBERLAND. BRAMPTON, 1663–1702, Rev. H. Whitehead.
 NEWTON REIGNY, 1571–1812, Rev. H. Whitehead.
 PENRITH, 1602–1812, Geo. Watson.
- DENBIGHS. GRESFORD, T. Cann Hughes, M.A.
- DERBYS. REPTON, 1580–1670, Rev. F. C. Hipkins.
 SOMERSHALL-HERBERT, 1537–1812, Rev. H. C. Fitzherbert (Indexed, &c.).
 STAVELEY, Bap. 1558–1665, Mar. 1587–1666, Bur. 1538–1693, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.
- DEVON. *ALWINGTON, Mar., Bap. and Bur. 1550–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.
 ANSTEY, EAST, Mar. 1674, Bap. and Bur. 1596–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.
 „ WEST, 1653–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

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- ATHERINGTON, Mar. 1548, Bap. 1538, Bur. 1570-1812,
Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.
BERRY NARBOR, Bap. 1550, Mar. and Bur. 1540-1812,
Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.
BIDEFORD, 1561-1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.
*BRADFORD, Mar. 1558-1754, Bap. 1558 and Bur.
1559-1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.
BRAWNTON, 1538-1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.
CHITTLEHAMPTON, a fragment, Mar. and Bur. 1576-78,
Bap. 1575-79, Mar., Bap. Bur. 1637-1812, Rev. J.
Ingle Dredge.
CLYST ST. GEORGE, 1567-1748, Rev. J. L. Gibbs.
DOLTON, Mar. 1610, Bap. and Bur. 1608-1812, Rev. J.
Ingle Dredge.
FREMINGTON, Mar. 1602-1837, Bap. and Bur. 1602-
1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.
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HEANTON PUNCHARDON, Mar. 1559, Bap. 1656, Bur.
1559-1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.
HIGH BICKINGTON, Mar. 1754-1837, Bap. and Bur.
1707-1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.
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HUISH, Mar. 1600-1789, Bap. and Bur. 1595-1812, Rev.
J. Ingle Dredge.
HUNTSHAW, Mar. 1755, Bap. and Bur. 1746-1812, Rev.
J. Ingle Dredge.
*LITTLEHAM (BIDEFORD), 1538-1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.
LITTLE TORRINGTON, 1672-1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.
MARWOOD, 1602-Mar. 1812, Bap. 1784, Bur. 1800, Rev.
J. Ingle Dredge.
MEETH, Mar. 1656, Bap. and Bur. 1653-1812, Rev. J.
Ingle Dredge.
MERTON, Mar. 1688, Bap. and Bur. 1687-1812, Rev. J.
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PLYMTREE, 1538-1800, Mrs. J. Rose Troup.
PULFORD, WEST, Mar. 1670-Bap. and Bur. 1668-1812,
Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.
ROBOROUGH, 1549-1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.
ROCKBEARE, 1645-Bap. and Bur. 1676, Mar. 1672, Mrs.
J. Rose Troup.
ROSEASH, 1591-1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.
ST. GILES-IN-THE-WOOD, Mar. and Bap. 1555-1743, Bur.
1556-1746, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.
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STOKE RIVERS, 1553-Bap. and Mar. 1744, Bur. 1707,
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- DEVON. WEAR GIFFORD, 1583-1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.
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 LYDLINCH, 1559-1812, Rev. C. H. Mayo.
 STURMINSTER MARSHALL, 1562-1694, Rev. J. Cross.
 TARRANT HINTON, 1545-1812, Rev. A. S. Newman.
 THORNFORD, 1677-1812, E. A. Fry.
 WHITECHURCH CANONICORUM, Bap. 1558-1680, index
 form, Rev. R. G. Bartleit.
- DURHAM. DENTON, 1714-1812 (*continuation*), Rev. J. Edleston.
 DIMSDALE, Bap. 1556-1806, Mar. 1564-1754, Bur. 1562-
 1812, Robt. Blair, F.S.A.
 EBCHESTER, Bap. and Bur. 1619-1731, Mar. 1621-1731,
 Robt. Blair, F.S.A.
 WHITBURN, Mar. 1579- , Robt. Blair, F.S.A. (in
 progress).
 WILTON, Bap. 1571- , Robt. Blair, F.S.A. (in progress).
 WILTON-LE-WEAR, 1558-1745, Robt. Blair, F.S.A.
- ESSEX. AYTHORPE RODING, 1559-1636, Par.
 BOREHAM, 1559-1800, R. H. Browne, Par.
 BRAINTREE, 1660-1812, R. H. Browne, Vicar.
 BROOMFIELD, 1546-1812, Rev. O. W. Tancock.
 CHELMSFORD, 1538-1812, R. H. Browne.
 CHIGNALL, S. James', 1724-1812 (earlier lost), Rev. O. W.
 Tancock.
 CHIGWELL, 1653-1812, R. H. Browne.
 EARL'S COLNE, 1560-1812, R. H. Browne, Par.
 EAST HAM, Bap. and Bur. 1700-1803, Mar. 1695-1804,
 A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.
 LAMBORNE, 1582-1812, R. H. Browne (*see also* 1st Report).
 LEIGHS, GREAT, 1556-1812, The Rector.
 „ LITTLE, 1679-1812, Rev. O. W. Tancock.
 MALDON, All Saints', 1558-1812, R. H. Browne, Plume
 Library, Maldon.
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 NAVESTOCK, 1538-1812, Par.
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 ROXWELL, 1558-1812, R. H. Browne, Par.

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 THAXTED, 1538-1812, R. H. Browne (in progress).
 THURROCK, WEST, 1668-1712 (made 1805), Par.
 TOTTERNHOE, 1558-1670, Rev. S. A. Woolward (Indexed).
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 Guildhall Library.
 WEST HAM, Mar. 1653-1801, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.
 WHITE COLNE, 1538-1812, R. H. Browne, Par. and
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 WIDFORD, 1619-1812, R. H. Browne, Par.
 WOODHAM WALTER, 1558-1800, R. H. Browne, Par.
 WRITTE, 1634-1812, R. H. Browne, Par.
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 BISHOPS CLEEVE, Mar. 1563-1812, Sidney Madge, F.R.H.S.
 CAM, Mar. 1569-1812, W. P. W. Phillimore, for
 G. M. R. (in progress).
 CAMPDEN, Mar. 1616-1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
 CHARLTON KINGS, Mar. 1538-1812, Sidney Madge,
 F.R.H.S.
 CHEDWORTH, Mar. 1653-1817, Rev. S. Hope, for G. M. R.
 CHELTENHAM, 1558-1812, Sidney Madge, for G. M. R.
 CLIFFORD CHAMBERS, 1537-1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom,
 M.A.
 COALEY, Mar. 1625-1812, W. P. W. Phillimore and Rev
 W. Symons, for G. M. R.
 DORSINGTON, 1593-1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
 DURSLEY, Mar. 1639-1676, W. P. W. Phillimore, for
 G. M. R.
 EBRINGTON, 1567-1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
 HAWKESBURY, Mar. 1603-1728, W. P. W. Phillimore,
 and Rev. E. R. Mosley, for G. M. R.
 KEMERTON, Mar. 1575-1716, and in progress, Rev. J. J.
 Mercier, for G. M. R.
 LEMINGTON, 1685-1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
 LEONARD STANLEY, Mar. 1570-1806, T. W. Cattell and
 R. Denison Jones, for G. M. R.
 LIDMINGTON, 1691-1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
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 Bloom.
 MATSON, Bap. 1553-1812, Mar. 1563-1879, Bur. 1555-
 1812, Rev. W. Bazeley.
 MICKLETON, 1594-1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
 " Mar. 1594-1812, S. G. Hamilton, for G. M. R.
 MORETON-IN-THE-MARSH, Mar. , Rev. J. Harvey
 Bloom.
 NETHER SWELL, Mar. 1686-1812, Rev. D. Royce, for
 G. M. R.

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STONEHOUSE, Mar. 1558-1812, R. Denison Jones, for G. M. R.

SWINDON, Bap. 1606-Mar. 1638-1838, Bur. 1638-1700, Sidney Madge, F.R.H.S.

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ULEY, Mar. only 1668-1812, W. P. W. Phillimore, for G. M. R.

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LINKENHOLT, Mar. 1585-1738, W. P. W. Phillimore, for H. M. R.

MONKSTON, Mar. 1716-1812, Rev. R. H. Clutterbuck, for H. M. R.

PENTON MEWSEY, Mar. 1642-1812, Rev. R. H. Clutterbuck, for H. M. R.

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- LANCS. BURNLEY, 1562-1722, W. Ecroyd.
 HAWKSHEAD, 1568-1704, H. Swainson Cowper, F.S.A.
- LINCOLNS. DODDINGTON, 1690-1812, Rev. R. E. G. Cole.
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 HOLY TRINITY, Minorities, Bap. 1563-1813, Mar. 1579-1664, Bur. 1566-1813, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.
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 BLO' NORTON, 1562—Bap. 1713, Mar. 1712, Bur. 1714, Rev. Aug. G. Legge, Par.
 GUEST, Bap. 1557-1707, Mar. 1560-1706, Bur. 1558-1723, Rev. Aug. G. Legge, Par.
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 ALDWINKLE, St. Peter's, Bap. 1563-1689 and 1701-1711, Mar. 1654-1711, Bur. 1653-1679, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.
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 MOULTON, 1565-1895, Sidney Madge, F.R.H.S.
 WADENHOE, 1559-1684, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.
 WARKTON, 1559-1742, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.
- NOTTS. COTHAM, 1587-1811, J. E. K. Cutts.
 FLAWBOROUGH, Mar. 1681-1812, W. P. W. Phillimore, for Notts. Mar. Reg.
 ORSTON, Mar. 1590-1812, W. P. W. Phillimore, for N. M. R.
 SCARRINGTON, Mar. 1571-1812, Rev. J. Standish, for N. M. R.
 SCREVEYTON, Mar. 1640-1780, Rev. J. Standish, for N. M. R.

- NOTTS. THOROTON, Mar. 1583-1606, W. P. W. Phillimore, for
(continued) N. M. R.
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- RUTLAND. CALDECOT, 1605-1783, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.
LIDDINGTON, Bap. 1562-Mar. 1604, Bur. 1561-1725,
A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.
- SHROPSHIRE. ALVELEY, 1561-1721, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.
BATTLEFIELD, 1662-1812, Shrewsbury Free Library.
CLEOBURY MORTIMER, 1574-1847, Mrs. Baldwin Childe.
HANWOOD, 1559-1763, Shrewsbury Free Library
(Original since burnt).
KINLET, 1657-Bap. 1868, Mar. 1841, Bur. 1860, Mrs.
Baldwyn Childe.
NEEN SAVAGE, 1575-1700, Mrs. Baldwin Childe.
SHAWBURY, 1561-1595 and 1618-1646 (1595-1618 lost),
Rev. F. Vernon, Par.
SHRAWADINE, 1645-1812, Shrewsbury Free Library.
WESTBURY, 1637-1743, — Morris, Shrewsbury Free
Library.
- SOMERSET. BATH, Abbey Church, 1569-Bap. and Mar. 1754, Bur.
1800, Harl. Soc.
CHRISTOW, 1553-1812, E. F. Wade.
COMPTON BISHOP, 1641-1807, E. F. Wade.
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GOATHURST, St. David Kemeys Tynte.
ST. MICHAEL CHURCH, 1697-1812, Rev. R. G. Bartlett.
STOKE TRISTER, 1751-1837, Rev. E. H. Bates, Par.
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TICKENHAM, 1538-1812, Rev. J. Byrchmore.
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LEIGH, nr. Stoke-on-Trent, 1541-1700, Archdeacon Lane.
- SUFFOLK. BURSTALL, 1540- , Rev. E. Cookson, M.A., and Par.
(Indexed).
COMBS, Bap. 1558-Mar. 1568, Bur. 1569-1732, A. S.
Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.
EASTON, Mixed 1561-1742, Bap. 1742-Mar. and Bur.
1745-1777, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.
ICKWORTH, 1566-1890, Rev. S. H. A. Hervey.
IPSWICH, St. Clement's, Bap. and Bur. 1563-1666, Mar.
1564-1666, Rev. E. Cookson.
,, St. Lawrence, 1539-Bap. 1812, Mar. 1754,
Bur. 1811, Rev. E. Cookson.
,, St. Mary-atte-Key, 1559- , Rev. E. Cook-
son, and Par. (Indexed).
,, St. Mary Elms, Bap. and Bur. 1557-1812, Mar.
1554-1753, Rev. E. Cookson, M.A.

- SUFFOLK. IPSWICH, St. Matthew's, 1559—Bap. 1695, Mar. 1702, Bur. 1701, Rev. E. Cookson (Indexed). Index with parish.
- „ St. Nicholas, Bap. and Mar. 1539—1728, Bur. 1552—1731, Rev. E. Cookson, Par. (Indexed).
- „ St. Peter's, Bap. 1657—1790, Mar. 1662—1786, Bur. 1658—1789 (older books lost), Rev. E. Cookson, M.A., Par. (Indexed).
- „ St. Stephen's, Bap. 1585—1690, Mar. 1586—1678, Bur. 1586—1679, Rev. E. Cookson, M.A., Par. (Indexed).
- KIRKLEY, 1700—1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
- PAKEFIELD, 1682—1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
- RATTLES DEN, 1558—1662, Rev. J. R. Olorenshaw.
- SOUTHWOLD, 1602—1802, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.
- WOOLPIT, 1558—1895, P. H. Page.
- SURREY. BATTERSEA, St. Mary's, 1559—1700.
- CRANLEIGH, 1566—1790, W. Welch.
- HASLEMERE, Bap. 1594—Mar. and Bur. 1573—1812, J. W. Penfold.
- WEYBRIDGE, 1625—Bap. 1797, Mar. 1812, Bur. 1820 (names only from 1797), Miss E. Lloyd.
- WOODMANSTERNE, 1568—1710 (to 1750 in progress), F. H. Lambert, F.S.A.
- SUSSEX. GRINSTEAD, EAST, 1558—1760, R. Payne Crawford.
- LAVANT, EAST, 1653—Bap. and Bur. 1810, Mar. 1753, W. H. Rylands, F.S.A.
- „ MID., 1567—1748, W. H. Rylands, F.S.A.
- SOUTHWICK, 1670—1837, H. Hall.
- STOPHAM, 1543—1694, Mrs. Vernon L. Guise (*to be continued*).
- TREYFORD, 1728—1811, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.
- WESTBOURNE, 1550—1769, E. A. Fry.
- WARWICKS. ALVESTON, 1539—1769, R. Savage.
- ATHERSTONE-ON-STOUR, 1654—1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
- BARCHESTON, 1589—1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
- BARFORD, Mar. 1539—1721, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
- BISHOPTON, 1591—1752, R. Savage.
- BURMINGTON, 1582—1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
- CHARLECOT, 1543—1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
- CHESTERTON, Mar. 1538—1731, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
- CLIFTON-UPON-DUNSMORE, 1594—1787, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.
- COFTON HACKET, 1550—1627, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
- EATINGTON, 1671—1783, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
- HALFORD, 1541—1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
- HONNINGTON, 1571—1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
- KINETON, 1538—1639, R. Savage.

WARWICKS. LIGHTHORNE, Mar. 1539-1734, Rev. J. Harvey
(continued) Bloom (in progress).

LOXLEY, 1540-1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.

LUDDINGTON, 1617-1638, R. Savage.

PILLERTON HERSEY, 1539-1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.

„ PRIORS, 1604-1629, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.

PRESTON-ON-STOUR, 1540-1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.

SOUTHAM, Bap. 1633-Mar. 1657, Bur. 1647-1812, W.
Gardner. (See also List 2.)

STRATFORD-ON-AVON, 1553-1733, R. Savage.

WELLESBOURNE, 1560-1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.

WHATCOTT, Bap. and Mar. 1572-1617, and Bap. and Bur.
1746-1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.

WHITCHURCH, 1561-1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.

WESTMORELAND. BAMPTON, 1637-1812 (in progress), Miss Noble.

WILTS.

AMESBURY, Rev. C. Ruddle.

BAVERSTOCKE, Bap. 1557-Mar. and Bur. 1561-1715,
Chas. Penruddocke.

CHITTERNE, All Saints', Bishops' Transcripts to 1672 by
Rev. R. G. Bartlett, Par. (originals lost).

COMPTON CHAMBERLAYNE, 1747-1812, Chas. Penruddocke.

DINTON, 1558-1812, Chas. Penruddocke.

GREAT BEDWYN, Bap. 1553-Mar. 1539, Bur. 1538-
1717, Rev. J. Ward, Par.

MADDINGTON, 1611-1812, Canon Bennett and Rev. G.
Bartlett, Par.

MILSTON - CUM - BRIGMERSTON, 1540-1700, Rev. R. G.
Bartlett, Index copy and Par.

ORCHESTON ST. MARY, Bishops' Transcripts to 1700, Rev.
R. G. Bartlett (original registers lost).

PRESHUTE, 1607-1707, E. Ll. Gwillim.

ROLLESTONE, 1652-1812, Rev. R. G. Bartlett, Index copy.

SHREWTON, 1548-1812, Canon Bennett.

„ 1548-1700, Rev. R. G. Bartlett, Index form,
Par.

WORCESTERS. ALDERMINSTER, 1628-1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.

CLEEVE-PRIOR, 1557-1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.

CLENT, 1562-1812, J. Amphlett (wrongly inserted in first
Report under Staffordshire).

EVESHAM, All Saints', Bap. and Mar. 1539-1784, Bur.
1538-1546 (in progress), Rev. J. Harvey
Bloom.

„ St. Laurence, Bur. 1556 (in progress), Rev.
J. Harvey Bloom.

HARTLEBURY, 1540-1579, Rev. R. A. Wilson (to be
continued).

HONEYBOURNE, 1673-1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.

KYRE WYARD, 1694-1812, Mrs. Baldwin Childe.

WORCESTERS LITTLE CUMBERTON, Mar. 1540-1627, Rev. J. Harvey
(continued) Bloom.

LITTLETON, NORTH and MIDDLE, 1661-1787, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.

„ SOUTH, 1537-1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.

OFFENHAM, 1538-1706, R. Savage.

SHIPSTON-ON-STOUR, 1572-1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.

STRETTON-ON-THE-FOSS, 1538—Bap. and Bur. 1733, Mar. 1754, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom

TREDINGTON, Mar. 1560-1615, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom
(in progress).

WORCESTER, St. Helen's, 1538-1812, Rev. J. Bowstead
Wilson, F.S.A.

„ St. John-in-Bedwardine, Mrs. W. R. Carr.

YORKS.

ALMONDBURY, 1557-1652, R. C. Oldfield.

BRADFIELD, 1559-1670, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

BURGHWALLIS, 1596-1693 (with gaps), A. S. Scott-Gatty,
F.S.A.

GANTON, Bap. 1556—Bur. 1552-1794, Mar. 1653-1737,
A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

HARTHILL, 1586-1697, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

HATFIELD, Bap. 1566—Bur. 1565-1679, Mar. 1566-
1681, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

HEMSWORTH, 1553-1688, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.

HOOTON ROBERTS, Bap. and Mar. 1702-1803, Bur. 1703-
1813, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

HOVINGHAM, 1642-1742, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

KIRK ELLA, 1588-1812, A. B. Wilson Barkworth.

LINTON-IN-CRAVEN, 1562-1896, Rev. F. A. C. Share, M.A.,
Par.

OLD MALTON, Bap. and Mar. 1606—Bur. 1609-1765,
A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

SADDLEWORTH, St. Chad's, 1571-1800, John Radcliffe.
(From 1613-1751 are printed.)

SLINGSBY, 1687-1737, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

TANKERSLEY, Bap. 1593-1742, Mar. 1599-1754, Bur.
1598-1755, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

THORNE, 1565-1698, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

WHITKIRK, 1603-1700, J. W. Morkill, M.A., Par. (See
also List 2.)

WINTRINGHAM, 1558-1700, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

No. 4.—Registers of Other Churches.

Printed Registers.

- LONDON. FRENCH CHURCH, Threadneedle Street, 1600-1639,
Huguenot Soc. Lynnington, 1896, 4to
- WESTMORELAND. RAVENSTONEDALE, Presbyterian, 1775-1809,
Congregational, 1811-1837,
Soc. of Friends, 1655-1834,
Rev. R. W. Metcalf 1894, fol.

MS. Transcript.

- KENT. ROCHESTER, (Presbyterian) 1706-1806 (some entries
from 1700), Humphrey Wood, F.S.A. (original
deposited with Registrar-General).

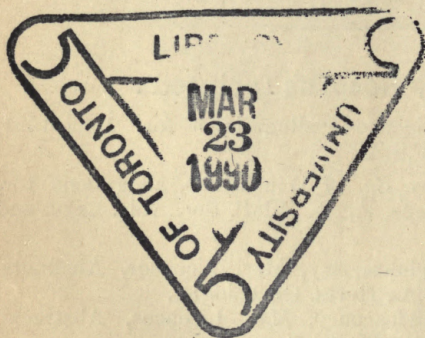
No. 5.—Sundry Records (printed).

- CAMBRIDGE. ELY, Mar. Licences, allegations for, 1582-1591,
A. Gibbons, F.S.A.
- HANTS. Mar. Licences by Bp. of Winchester, allegations for,
W. T. C. Moens, F.S.A. Harl. Soc., vols. xxxv. and
xxxvi.
- HERTS. HUNTINGDON Archdeaconry, Mar. Licences, Abstracts,
W. Brigg, B.A., Herts. Genealogist.
ST. ALBAN'S Archdeaconry, Mar. Licences, Abstracts,
W. Brigg, B.A., Herts. Genealogist.
- KENT. CANTERBURY, Mar. Licences, 1568-1618 (First Series),
J. M. Cowper. 1892 pr.
„ Mar. Licences, 1619-1660 (Second Series),
J. M. Cowper.
„ Mar. Licences, Vicar-Gen. of Archbp., 1660-
1679. Extracts by Col. Chester. Harl.
Soc., vol. xxiii. and complement to do.,
vols. xxxiii. and xxxiv.
„ Mar. Licences, Vicar-Gen., &c., 1679-1687
and 1687-1694, Harl. Soc., vols. xxx. and
xxxi.
„ Mar. Licences, Faculty Office of Archbp.,
1543-1869, Harl. Soc., vol. xxiv.
- LINCOLNS. LINCOLN, Mar. Licences, allegations for, 1560-1670,
A. Gibbons, F.S.A. (in progress).

- LONDON. LONDON, Mar. Licences, 1520-1610 and 1611-1828, Harl. Soc., vols. xxv. and xxvi.
 WESTMINSTER, Mar. Licences by Dean and Chapter, 1558-1699, Col. Chester, Harl. Soc., vol. xxiii.
- YORKS. YORK, Mar. Licences by Dean and Chapter, A. Gibbons, F.S.A. (in progress).

SOMERSET. COMMONWEALTH Mar., 1653-1656, Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries II. 73, 104.

GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE. Index to Mar., 1731-1868, H. Farrar, Swan Sonnenschein (in press). dmy. 8vo



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